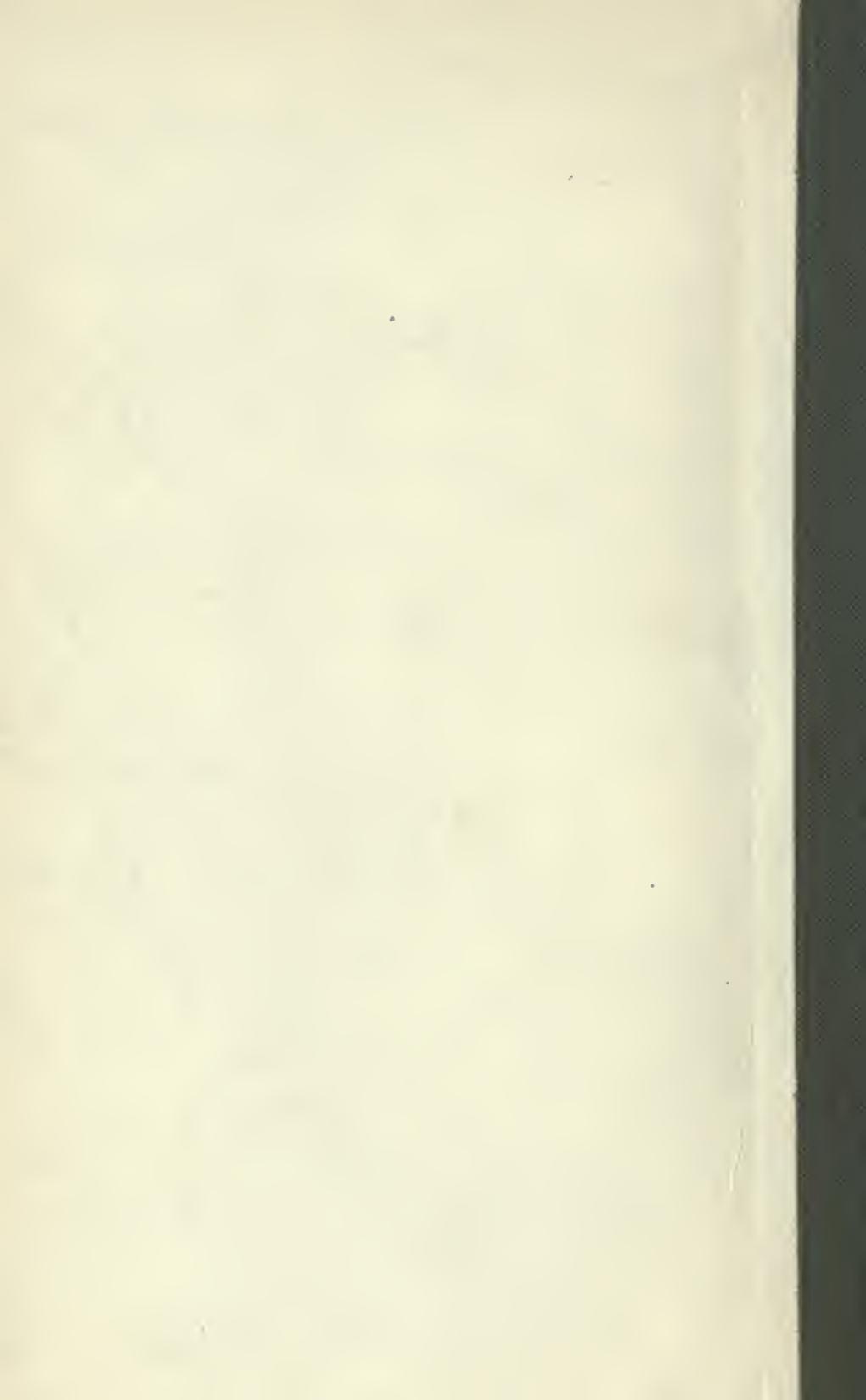


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CONTINUING

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NUMBER I

THE distinction between facts and truth is not perhaps evident at first thought, but it is one of no small value as an aid to clear thinking. In a recently issued brochure on The "Two Bibles," Dr. George Dana Boardman, of Philadelphia, has emphasized its value in the study of nature as a revelation of God, while also making reference to its usefulness in the study of the Bible. The distinction in this second realm is certainly not unimportant. A fact is what happens—a truth is what is. Facts are fragmentary and may be temporary. Truths are, relatively at least, complete, and are eternal. Facts are the outward shell of things ; truth is the central essence of things. It is a fact that Isaiah preached after this manner or that to the children of Israel. It is a truth that God reveals himself and his thoughts to men through those who are fitted to receive and communicate His thought. It is a fact that Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans in the year 70 A. D. It is a truth that national sin sows the seeds of evil which bring national disaster. It is a fact that Jesus died at the hands of the Jews. It is a truth that between human sin and divine holiness there is necessary hostility and that divine love pours itself out in seeking the salvation of sinners.

APART from the truths which they severally illustrate, or which, taken together, they prove, facts may be wholly valueless or even positively harmful ; of this our daily newspapers are constantly furnishing us illustrations. Truths may be saddening,

but can never be other than healthful and helpful. The knowledge of facts is indispensable to the student, for only by them is truth suggested or established. But facts without truths are as unprofitable pabulum as husks without grain.

UNFORTUNATELY it has been the vice of much of our study of the Bible that it has divorced facts from truths. It has either sought to reach truth without first ascertaining facts, or else it has contented itself with finding out facts, and has failed to push on to discover truth. The former method gives us unsubstantial theological theories. The latter yields us a secularized Bible. It is the great virtue of the present movement in the direction of an inductive and scientific study of the Bible that it emphasizes the necessity of ascertaining facts as prerequisite to the attempt to see and announce truth. Its danger is that it shall become so absorbed in the fascinating search for facts that it shall forget that they are valuable only as the expression of truths. The old way—if we may so call it, bearing in mind that in fact both tendencies have always been more or less operative—the old way was right in its aim, right in its recognition of the supreme value of truth, but awry in its method. The new way can hardly be said to be right in its method and wrong in its aim; it is rather in danger of losing sight of its aim and of becoming in consequence defective both in aim and method.

AGAINST both these tendencies to defective and imperfect methods of study all students of the Bible who study it in the love of it ought to guard themselves and others. The neglect of facts is really a disregard of truth and the substitution for it of speculation or imagination. On the other hand, to give exclusive attention to facts is to ignore the true character of all the books that make up the Book, for whether they be history, ritual or prophecy, gospel, epistle or apocalypse, they are everywhere permeated with a religious purpose. Neither of these methods is either more reverent or scientific. In fact no method of Bible study is either truly scientific or truly reverent which does not combine the investigation of facts and the search for truth.

BUT if this be true, if facts must be known in order to reach truth, and if truth must be gained in order to give value to facts, it follows that the two great requisites for successful Bible study are *investigation* and *insight*. Facts come only by investigation. The books of the Bible come to us as histories, sermons, letters. Each of these classes of literature requires for its understanding historical investigation. This investigation must cover a wide range. Geography, politics, military operations, schools of thought, conflicts of opinion all belong within its scope. It cannot be too broad or too exhaustive. But when the facts have been gained, then insight must come into complete the work. Not that this is a peculiarity of Bible study. The same principle holds in all the higher realms of thought, whether of art, or poetry, or history, whether in music, or sociology, or geology. He only who has insight perceives the higher things. It is greatly to be desired that the Bible study of the future should be characterized by the intelligence and the patience needful to make thorough investigation of facts, and by the spiritual sympathy and insight which enable the student to see the great spiritual truths which lie behind and within the facts. The conditions of such insight in Bible study differ from its conditions in other realms only as the nature of the facts themselves differ. Historical insight does not necessarily involve artistic insight, and artistic insight does not necessarily carry with it that spiritual and moral insight which enables one to grasp the great truths of the Bible. But in every realm the essential conditions of progress are these two—investigation to discover facts, trained insight to discern truths. Ruskin has somewhere said that it is of our own will whether we see in the muddy pool in the street the refuse and the mud, or the reflection of the bright sky and the fleecy clouds overhead. It is scarcely less true that it is a question of personal power of insight whether in the facts of any science we see only gross and largely useless facts, or the reflection and the expression of the infinite thoughts and the beneficent purposes of God.

THE question is asked in some quarters to-day, "Is the Bible really necessary to the life of the church and the individual?"

Why should such a question arise? What does it mean that the question should be put? The intellectual and spiritual situation which prompts it is undoubtedly due to the widely-extended uncertainty concerning the true doctrine of Scripture. Criticism is responsible in part for this uncertainty. The mere possibility of approaching the Bible from this point of view, of challenging it concerning its right to speak authoritatively in this or that sphere, tends to unsettle men's minds. Another fruitful source of uncertainty lies in the influence exerted by the new light thrown on other religions and other sacred books, for which similar claims are made. Is the Bible one among these bibles? Can it demand a higher place, a unique place? The tendency of all such investigation, criticism and comparison is simply to suggest to some earnest men this way out of the difficulty—the assertion that the Bible is not basal after all, not indispensable to Christianity.

ANOTHER cause as potent in fact, more potent, lies nearer to the heart and conscience of the people. It is this: that wrong use of Scripture by the teachers and leaders of the church has belittled its authority. Thus men have, in one case, rejected it, but in larger numbers practically concluded that Christianity is better off by putting the Bible in a subordinate place. To speak plainly and simply, there are multitudes of Christian people in whose lives the Bible plays a very secondary part. It is not vital in their Christian experience. No doubt, they have a reverence for it, and read it. No doubt they receive it second-hand, and filtered through another mind, from the Christian preacher. But there are many other elements of the Christian system which are much more central and powerful in sustaining their Christian vitality. Why? Because of the facts just mentioned. Partly the indefiniteness and uncertainty of the place which is left to the Bible, after the assaults of criticism, and in the midst of other scriptures. But primarily and mainly because of the misuse of the Bible, whereby it has not been made to unite itself to life, has not been coöordinated with their common sense, their mental and spiritual observation. They find that they can get along without it. Then comes the theorist and manufactures a doctrine which justifies

them in their practices. Thus this age has seen the rise of various schools of thought which, in many respects, differ as widely as possible, but agree in this, that the Bible is not essential to successful Christian living.

THESE theories are all wrong and these practices are surely to end in disaster. The feeling which prompts them cannot but be temporary, and will pass away with sober reflection and more careful study. We cannot get along without the Bible. Scripture has a radical, a fundamental service to do for religion. Take, for example, three of its more important features and ask their message for the present age: (1) The delineation of the life of Christ contained in the Gospels is of perennial importance, and a careful study of it is fundamental to Christian knowledge and experience. Without constant return to its marvelous pictures, its vivid and accurate details, the Church plunges off into false views of the true Christian character, or into an emphasis of doctrine as over against life, resulting in a weak and juiceless type of service. (2) Another element is the Messianic prophecy, which, with its ideal pictures of the future, holds before the Church in all ages a higher possibility of achievement centering in the fuller manifestation of the Christ—a service simply indispensable to a growing Christianity, relieving it from the danger of narrowness, pointing it onward and upward, forbidding it to be satisfied with any one type of excellence already attained. (3) The biblical history, with its unexampled series of failures and successes carried through under a constant sense of Divine guidance, is equally of permanent value to men. It is here that the Bible is more clearly unique. Other bibles are not only without the historic spirit; they lack, above all, the religio-historic spirit of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. If it is to be guided thus by the typical experiences of the past to an ideal future, the Church must needs hold fast to the Bible. If, in and through the past and the future, it is to attain to the supreme ideal of character, it must hold fast to the biblical Christ. The Church, the individual, cannot do without the Bible. Its presence and power are indispensable to existence, not to speak of progress.

THERE is a real good to come out of these forces and influences which seem to be undermining the Bible. They will, in the end, really strengthen its hold upon men. How? By destroying the false views, by overthrowing the worthless bulwarks by which men have been trying to assist the Bible. This is the real service of rationalism, of criticism, of the study of comparative religion. They are to bring out in what the real strength of the Scriptures consists. They are to emphasize its peculiar uniqueness, not as it is interpreted by the doctors, but as it is illuminated by the facts of other religions and the investigations of science. The wrong uses to which Scripture has been put, the wrong tests which have been applied to it, the false glory in which it has been enveloped—all receive no mercy at the hands of facts such as criticism and comparative religion present. But the permanent elements do not suffer, and it is just these which make the Bible indispensable and essential to the Christian. It must and will be brought into more vital relation to men and it will be seen more and more to contain the essence of all that the world needs in the way of principles of social, national and individual life, in their religious aspect, placed in concrete and vital shape for the nourishment of the world.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

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I.

It has been noticed from very early times that there are difficulties about the date of the crucifixion of our Lord. Did it take place (1) in the forenoon or the afternoon? (2) On Thursday or Friday? (3) On the fourteenth day of the month Nisan or the fifteenth? (4) In the year 29 A.D. or any other year between 27 and 35?

Our principal authorities are ultimately, as I believe, SS. Peter and John. S. Peter's account is found in S. Mark's Gospel, and is followed by SS. Matthew and Luke. S. John's is peculiar to the Fourth Gospel. But there are other authorities to be considered, as we shall see presently.

Let us begin with the difficulty about the hour. S. Peter says: "It was the third hour, and they crucified him."¹ "And when the sixth hour had come there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice and yielded up his life."² S. John says: "They bring, therefore, Jesus from Caiaphas to the praetorium, and it was early."³ Again at the close of the trial, just before sentence was passed, we read: "And it was the preparation of the Passover; the hour was about the sixth."⁴

In the ancient world hours were not a uniform period of sixty minutes, but one-twelfth of the space between sunrise and sunset, so that it could always be said, "Are there not twelve hours in the day?"⁵ In Palestine the hours in winter might, therefore, be as short as forty-five minutes; in summer, as long as eighty; but at the Passover (March-April), the time of year when our

¹ Mark 15:25.

² Mark 15:33-34; Matt. 27:45-46; Luke 23:44.

³ John 18:28.

⁴ John 19:14.

⁵ John 11:9.

Lord was crucified, the hours would average sixty minutes and the sun would rise and set about six o'clock.

Ancient sun dials were necessarily different from ours. The hours were traced on the section of a sphere scooped out of a block of stone, and the gnomon was placed horizontally at the top. The only fixed hour was noon. If you consult a standard work on the subject, like Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, you will find the statement that noon was the seventh hour. But this was an error. Noon was the sixth hour. For sunrise was called "early," or "the early hour." The "first hour" was when the sun had been shining for an hour, just as with us "one o'clock" is an hour after noon or midnight. Any one may see this in the parable of the discontented labourers,¹ in which the master went forth to hire workmen at early morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth and the eleventh, paying wages at sunset, at which time those who had been hired at the eleventh hour had worked one hour and not two, as the other hypothesis would require.

According to S. Peter, then, Christ was crucified at 9 A.M., the agony upon the cross lasted six hours, the darkness began at noon and lasted till 3 P.M. At 3 P.M. Christ yielded up his life. But according to S. John, sentence was passed about noon, and as some time would be required for preparation, the crucifixion began in the afternoon. In short, there is a discrepancy of more than three hours.

Here is work for the harmonist. And that ingenious person's versatility does not forsake him. Consult almost any commentary that you please, from the Bishop of Durham's to a Sunday-School treatise, and you will find it stated with more or less of positive assertion that the ancient world had two ways of reckoning the hours: one from sunrise to sunset, which the synoptists have followed; the other, like our own plan, from midnight to midday, which S. John has followed. The latter plan is also called the Roman. It is said to have been in use at Ephesus, where S. John wrote. Martyrologies are quoted to prove this. And so when S. John says "the hour was about the sixth," he means 6 A.M., and all discrepancy vanishes.

¹ Matt. 20:1-16.

There are three objections to this attractive explanation. First, it was unknown to the ancient fathers. Irenæus was a native of Asia Minor, so were Polycarp and Papias. Through them so simple an explanation would have passed into the church if there had been any ground for it. But though all kinds of reasons are given, from the symbolical meaning of the number six in Irenæus to the fulfilment of Daniel in Hippolytus and the interval which must have lapsed between passing sentence and nailing to the cross in Hesychius,¹ no one suggests a different reckoning of hours.

Secondly, we should only escape one difficulty by creating another. Christ was brought before Pilate "early." The phrase is an elastic one, as we shall see hereafter. But it is fixed here. Before he was taken to the prætorium our Lord had been brought before the Sanhedrim in their chamber *gazith* on the Temple mount "when the morning had come."² True, there had been two examinations the night before; one before Annas, the other before Caiaphas, in which some energetic committees of the Sanhedrim had procured sufficient material for condemnation; but for all that, the formal trial before the Sanhedrim proper must be gone through. According to the Talmud, the meeting to try capital cases must be held by daylight. And although Talmudic rules belong to a later date, common sense as well as S. Matthew's language forbid us to think of the assembling of the Sanhedrists much before 6 A.M. At any rate, Christ could not have reached Pilate before that hour. And if so, the trial began at 6 A.M., or later, and ended about 6 A.M. Yet there is abundant evidence that it was a long one. S. John takes a large part of two chapters to describe it. S. Matthew gives many details which would lengthen it. S. Luke adds that it was interrupted by a visit to Herod, which can hardly have taken less than an hour. From two hours and a half to three hours appears to me to be the *minimum* time required.

But in the third place, this double reckoning of the hours is in itself a very suspicious thing. Certainly it is possible. In

¹ Unfortunately, S. John gives the time of passing sentence; S. Mark, that of nailing to the cross.

² Matt. 27:1.

Italy, twenty-four hours used to be counted on the clock, so that you dined at nineteen and went to bed at twenty-three, and some reformers wish to restore this way of reckoning now. But railways and through trains compelled the Italians to conform to the use of their neighbors, and it is not easy to go back.

In the ancient world, with no telegraphs or railways and only slow communication by sailing ships, there would be less need for uniformity. Still, the Rev. John Cross¹ has called in question this supposed second method of reckoning the hours, and Professor W. M. Ramsay declares that it is "a mere fiction, constructed as a refuge of despairing harmonisers, and not a jot of evidence for it has ever been given that would bear scrutiny."² He himself cuts the Gordian knot in heroic fashion by declaring that the apostles had no watches. "About the sixth hour" with them would signify anywhere between 11 and 1. If the crucifixion really took place at half past 10, S. Peter might call it the third hour and S. John the sixth without admitting greater inaccuracy than we should feel between 12:05 and 12:10, or than an astronomer would feel about tenths of a second. All is a matter of habit and education.

This is fascinating and to a great extent true. Divisions of time are rough and few amongst primitive people. Day and night come first, in which the day includes all the twilight; the night is darkness. Then for military purposes the night is divided into three watches.³ The officer on duty decides by the position of the stars when the watch is over. On cloudy nights he guesses, for water clocks and sand glasses are a later invention. The day is divided into morning, noon and evening. Then "the heat of the day"⁴ (11 A.M. to 2 P.M.), when food is taken and a *siesta*, the "time of the evening meal offering"⁵ (3 P.M.), "the verge of the evening"⁶ (5 P.M.), when supper is made ready—these with sunrise and sunset complete the divisions. "Steps" in the sun-dial of Ahaz were introduced by that savant from Damascus to Jerusalem, but scarcely affected popular language, which was content with the above mentioned sim-

¹ *Classical Review*, June 1891.

² *Expositor*, March 1893.

³ Judg. 7:19.

⁴ Gen. 18:1.

⁵ 1 Kings 18:29.

⁶ Gen. 3:8.

ple indications until the heathenish Greeks invaded the Holy Land and polluted it with their abominations. Then for the first time do we read of the "hour,"¹ which nevertheless in the days of Christ had thrown out the old reckoning. The night, also, was now divided into four watches instead of three²

But even astrology had not broken up the hour into minutes. Astrologers were satisfied with calculating *horoscopes*. S. Augustine has no notion that twins might have a different horoscope.³ People said: "I will come in the course of an hour," where our forefathers said, "in a minute;" we, "in a second," and our children or grandchildren will say, "in the tenth of a second."

Professor Ramsay holds that plain people were perplexed by these minute subdivisions of time, and did not use them. They talked of "the early (hour)," the third, sixth, ninth hours, and "the late (hour)," but neglected the others.

Let us examine the evidence of the New Testament on this interesting question.

There are two adverbs in very common use, "early" and "late" (*πρωῒ* and *ὅψε*), and two adjectives, derived from them. "the early (hour)," *πρωῒα*, 0 o'clock or sunrise, and "the late (hour)," *ὅψια*, 12 o'clock or sunset.

Now, we must first observe that the adverbs are used in a double sense, according as they apply to the night or the day. The first watch of the night was called "late" (*ὅψε*), and the last watch, "early" (*πρωῒ*), because they contained the period of twilight. But, in common use, unless the context decides otherwise, we may be sure that "early" and "late" do not mean the watches of the night, but are said with reference to the day. "Early" means anything between the first streak of dawn (or, indeed, long before that) and seven or eight o'clock in the morning. "Late" means from five or six till midnight or beyond. For, as it is now, so was it then. "I sat up very late last night" may mean till 4 A.M. "I got up very early this morning" may mean at 3 A.M. And so the terms overlap. For, although the day legally ended when darkness was established and three

¹ Daniel 3:6; 4:16 (the time indicated is still vague as in *ὠπα* originally).

² Mark 13:35.

³ *De civitate 2:6.*

stars were visible, popular language necessarily disregarded legal absurdities. "To-morrow"¹ in the Bible always means after the night's sleep is over. "Yesterday" is divided from to-day by the night. And S. Matthew writes, quite naturally as we might do, "Late on Saturday night as it was dawning for Sunday,"² to signify 4.30 A.M., or anywhere thereabouts.

But the adjectives, "the early (hour)" and "the late (hour)" are not quite identical in meaning with the adverbs. Being hours, they do not intrude on the night, probably never extending into real darkness. On the other hand they trespass much further into the day. "The early (hour)" probably lasted, in popular language, till nearly 9 A.M.; "the late (hour)" certainly was often reckoned from 3 P.M.³

All this proves that the word "hour," in its popular use, retained its original meaning of an indefinite division of time, as distinguished from the strict meaning of one-twelfth of the day, which science was fastening upon it.

But I cannot persuade myself that a serious historian, who gave dates by the hour at all, would follow the carelessness of country people. S. John, as a matter of fact, mentions the seventh⁴ hour and the tenth,⁵ S. Matthew the eleventh,⁶ an apocryphal addition to Acts 19:10, the fifth and the tenth. So far were the New Testament writers from being tied to the third, sixth and ninth. S. Luke speaks of an interval of about an hour⁷ and about three hours,⁸ and S. Mark, "Could ye not watch with me one hour?"⁹

Though Professor Ramsay, therefore, has done good service, I cannot accept his explanation as certain. I incline myself to the old view of a false reading, either in S. Mark, or more probably, in S. John. Eusebius suggests it in the latter, S. Jerome in the former. In manuscripts, except those of the most expensive kinds, numerals were expressed for brevity's sake by letters of the alphabet, as we express them by figures. "Third" would be written with a *gamma* (Γ), "sixth" with a *digamma* (F). And these two letters were so very much alike that they were

¹ Acts 4:3.

² Matt. 28:1.

³ Matt. 14:15, 23.

⁴ John 1:40.

⁵ John 4:52.

⁶ Matt. 20:6, 9.

⁷ Luke 22:59.

⁸ Acts 5:7.

⁹ Mark 14:37.

peculiarly liable to be confused. Perhaps S. John really wrote or intended to write "third" (Γ), but a primitive copyist read "sixth" (F).

That numerals really were expressed by letters of the alphabet and that the *digamma* was confused with other letters, is proved by Acts 27:37, where the true reading is, "We were in all on board the ship *about seventy-six* souls," though the common text has, "We were in all on board the ship *two hundred and seventy-six* souls." Now C stands for two hundred, O for seventy and F for six. The original text ran, **ΕΝΤΩΤΤΛΟΙΩωωCOF**. But the second ω having been accidentally or purposely omitted, the words became **ΕΝΤΩΤΤΛΟΙΩωCOF**. The British Museum manuscript (A) gives another reading, **ΕΝΤΩΤΤΛΟΙΩωCOE** "two hundred and seventy-five," the *digamma* (F) having been altered into Epsilon (E).

At any rate, our general conclusion is that the common explanation of two methods of calculating hours must be abandoned.

That S. Mark is right, and that the crucifixion really took place in the forenoon, is rendered probable by two further considerations. First, time was needed to make this lingering torture fatal. It was no uncommon case for criminals to expire at length from mere hunger on the cross.¹ Besides the breaking of the legs, various other methods were used to accelerate death. They were suffocated by the smoke of fires lighted below or were torn in pieces by wild beasts. Now Pilate, who was required by the Romans to respect Jewish law, knew that the bodies could not remain suspended beyond sunset on any day,² much less on the Sabbath. He would, therefore, be anxious to secure as long a time as possible for the law to take vengeance. Secondly, the scene plainly consisted of two parts, the first of which was characterized by gibes, merriment and triumph, the next by dread, silence and misgivings. The darkness will account for the change. Three hours of brutal enjoyment were succeeded by three of superstitious terror. For the wicked are

¹ Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, p. 310.

² Deut. 21:23.

superstitious beyond the understanding of good men, and nature seemed, with its heavy storm clouds at midday, to be conspiring against them. We need not believe that they carried lanterns about, as the unimaginative author of the newly discovered "Gospel according to S. Peter" supposed. But they confessed, "Truly this man was a son of God," they smote their breasts and returned, saddened and solemnized, to their homes.

SECTARIANISM AND MISSIONS AS ILLUSTRATED IN MOHAMMEDANISM.

By DEAN A. WALKER,
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The efforts of recent ecclesiastical councils, and the increasing desire throughout the Christian Church, to bring together in more fraternal union the many sects into which Christianity is divided, is a most hopeful sign of the times, and the coming Congress of Religions is expected to do much in promoting a more liberal spirit, not only between Christian sects, but between Christians and followers of other religions. Much has been said of the evils of sectarianism in retarding the progress of the gospel in heathen countries, both as wasting the energies of the church at home and furnishing an argument against Christianity in the mouths of the non-Christian world abroad. The former is no doubt a serious objection. Where sectarian spirit runs high the church has little time for work among the heathen, and the duplication of forces in the foreign field, where several denominations contend for the possession of the same corner of the vineyard, is a waste of energy, and is apt to confuse the mind of the native convert or result in a mercenary type of conversion.

But that sectarian division is in itself an argument against Christianity is not so valid an objection, nor should Christian missionaries be too ready to admit it to be such when arguing with learned representatives of other religions. In the first place, it is probable that the great majority of those with whom the missionary has to deal know nothing of the existence of such differences in the church. And secondly, to such as have heard of them and are disposed to cite them as an objection to Christianity, the missionary should be able to point out, first, that granting division to be an evil, there is no other religion

qualified to cast the first stone at Christianity on this score; and secondly, that division, so far as it concerns only the intellectual belief and not the underlying motive of Christianity, is only a differentiation, and therefore a sign not of weakness or decay but of life.

I wish to take some illustrations of these last two points from the history and present condition of Islam. The preaching of the unity of God, the fundamental article of Mohammed's creed, is by many supposed to have secured a remarkable uniformity of belief among his followers; but such is by no means the fact. A little acquaintance with the internal economy of Islam will reveal that it has numbered nearly as many sects as Christianity. George Sale, in one of the sections introductory to his translation of the Quran, says that the Mohammedans themselves claim to have seventy-three sects, and consider it a mark of their superiority over the Sabians, Jews, and Christians, who have only seventy, seventy-one, and seventy-two respectively. The experienced traveler and close observer, Palgrave, after remarking that every field, however rugged, will at a sufficient distance appear like an unbroken surface, goes on to say: "In no part of the world is there more of secret division, aversion, disbelief (taking Mohammedanism for our standard), and unbelief, than in those very lands which to a superficial survey seem absolutely identified in the common creed of the Coran and its author."

Nor are these divisions of Islam merely nominal or superficial. Sectarian animosity has raged as fiercely between different bodies in Islam as it ever has between Protestant and Roman Catholic, and in their religious wars Moslems have swung their scimitars and mown each other down as if they took it quite literally that "all flesh is grass." It is said that when Sultan Selim I. set out for the war against Persia, which was to be a religious war, a contest between Sunnee and Sheah, the Ulema at Constantinople, the highest religious body of the state, declared an opinion that there was more merit in killing one Sheah than in putting seventy Christians to death.

It would be possible also to show, and this is the main point

to be made, that the divisions in Islam have arisen in the same ways and from the same causes that have produced division in the Christian Church. There is first the grand division between Sunnee and Sheah, arising like that between the Eastern and Western churches in a difference of opinion as to certain forms, and as to the authoritative successor and representative of the founder of the religion. There were the Motazalites, differing from the orthodox on the question of predestination. There have been quite recently the Wahhabites; bent like the Protestants on returning to first principles and abjuring the worship of saints and relics, or like the Puritans compelling attendance at church and requiring simplicity of dress. There were the Kherejites and Carmathians, attempting like the iconoclasts of the Reformation period to overturn by force the existing order of things. The Hanefites, Hanbalites, Melekites, and Shafeites, as followers of certain great teachers, correspond to Calvinists and Arminians, and there are the numerous orders of Derwishes corresponding to the monastic orders of Christendom.

In both these religions the underlying causes of division are the same—differences in religious temperament, differences in the interpretation of the sacred oracles, infection from contact with other religious systems; and then in the case of Islam there is the additional reason that the original system itself fails to meet some of the deepest needs of the human soul. From this last cause arose in Islam the idea of the divine Imamate, to satisfy that longing for an abiding presence and a returning leader which Christianity satisfies by the Holy Spirit and Christ. The need of a mediator finds expression as in some forms of Christianity in the invocation of saints and the veneration of relics, while the sense of the mysterious, and the longing for more light on questions that seem never to have troubled the author of the Quran, have given rise to such mystic bodies as the Druzes and the Derwishes. Mysticism has come in through contact with the early religions of Persia, and Gnostic influences from the side of Egypt; and there are even said to be traces of Christianity—a Eucharist and a Trinity—among the Nusairiyeh of Northern Lebanon.

Enough has been said to show that Islam is by no means homogeneous, and doubtless the same could be shown to be true in any other of the world's great religions, and due to the same causes. Sectarian division in any religion shows that some one somewhere has been doing some thinking, and so is a sign of life. There is no reason therefore for the Christian Church to apologize for its many divisions, but only that it should see to it that the various sects, each supplying some need or suiting some temperament, should supplement and not antagonize each other; and that in the presence of the common enemy Christians should make it evident that they are one in purpose, rejoicing] in the success of one as the success of all.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIESTHOOD IN ISRAEL AND EGYPT—A COMPARISON.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
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Egyptian history divides itself naturally into three epochs—the old, middle, and late; these three epochs are denominated among Egyptologists the Old, the Middle, and the New Empire, respectively.¹ On the basis of history, and partially so of archæology, this division has long been recognized among scholars. But more fully in the archæology, and for the *first time in the language*, this division has been demonstrated by Professor Erman of this University. With incalculable industry and enormous learning, he has shown how the language of the Old and Middle Empire is to be sharply distinguished from that of the New Empire, there being little more resemblance between them than between the speech of Piers Plowman and our colloquial English of to-day. It is quite natural to suppose that there would obtain also the same difference in daily customs, in thought and in religious life and practices, and such is found to be the case. Of the development in the Egyptian priesthood no exhaustive or detailed study has ever been made, but enough has been done, almost solely through the investigations of Erman, to establish in its main features the ecclesiastical and priestly tendency in the three chief periods.

¹ Erman, accepting for the older history a system of the latest possible dates, gives the following: In the Old Empire these dates might be raised by as much as 500 years, and in the New Empire by 100 or 200 years.

Dyn. 4 and 5 at the latest after 2830 B. C.	Old Empire.
" 6 " " " 2530 " "	
" 12 After circa 2130 " "	Middle Empire.
" 13 " 1930 " "	
" 18 Circa 1530-1320 " "	New Empire.
" 19 " 1320-1180 " "	
" 20 " 1180-1050 " "	

In the Old Empire religion had not yet assumed the prominent position in the life of the people which it afterward gained, and the priesthood is naturally an office whose duties are exercised by nearly every person of any prominence. Very few memorials of the Old Empire mention any person who had not officiated as priest; and this was in no sense his peculiar calling, for he regularly occupied some office of his town or province as his proper avocation, while the duties of the priesthood were only casual and subordinate. There was, however, a small class distinctively priestly, and at Memphis and Heliopolis there was even a chief priest with his peculiar title. This office, at so remote a period, shows the extreme antiquity of these two sanctuaries, and demonstrates that even here we stand at a considerable distance from the beginning, which is still far back of our historical knowledge. Yet the Old Empire quite justifies the conclusion, apart from the two sanctuaries above named, that the priesthood, if now no longer the common property it once was, has but just emerged from that primeval state of its development. One very significant evidence of this is the fact that the priests of this epoch wear no costume or insignia of any sort which would indicate their office. They are not to be distinguished from any other Egyptian citizen of the period. This is true even of the chief priest of Heliopolis or Memphis.

The period between the sixth and the eleventh dynasty, of course, offers no material for tracing the development, but when the darkness clears and the Middle Empire has begun, a definite progress is discernible. It seems to keep pace with the tendency toward solar monotheism, which, beginning already in the Middle Empire, made rapid advances in the opening dynasties of the New Empire. Of the innumerable private monuments of the twelfth dynasty, not one carries a title showing that a layman has exercised priestly functions as his natural privilege. No public officer or prominent citizen has recorded in his title the casual and supplementary office of priest, which was the universal rule in the Old Empire. As a seeming compensation for this, however, in the festal procession of the god, which occurred once a month, the laymen might participate. This at least was the case with

the jackal-gods *Anubis* and *Wepw'ut* at Siut, and of Osiris at Abydos and probably elsewhere. The priestly office has become exclusive, and to this there is but one exception, viz., the prince of a *nomos* still inserts in his long title the antique designation which his fathers wore in the Old Empire and has now become meaningless. Notwithstanding this exception, a distinctively priestly class has arisen, as such, since the Old Empire, and has succeeded in excluding the laity from its ranks. The priests now wear a costume denoting their position, and consisting simply of the short apron or kilt, which was the ordinary costume of the Old Empire, but is now long antiquated; just as the Roman toga, with some modifications, is the historical origin of much of the official costume of the Catholic clergy. The office, further, has become hereditary, and thus its exclusiveness is maintained. Rank within the cult, however, is not inherited, and is always within the gift of the king. The son of the leading priest enjoys no advantage as such, but the priestly community is as yet very small. Of the two sanctuaries of which we know the most in this period, Siut and Abydos, the former possessed ten and the latter five regularly installed priests. Their income of dues was insignificant and barely sufficient for their maintenance. All this is quite in accord with the subordinate position which religion still occupies, even in the Middle Empire. We are accustomed to think of the Egyptians as a people notably religious, given to religious rites and customs innumerable, but this is not the case in the two older periods of which we have just spoken. It is not until the New Empire that the tremendous influence exerted by the popular faith comes to be the chief element in the culture of this antique people.

Passing into the New Empire, which so suddenly and wondrously develops after the expulsion of the so-called shepherd kings, the student of the monument finds himself ushered into a new world. The old simplicity, of which there were still traces in the Middle Empire, has passed away forever, and given place to a developed and complex civilization, preserved to us in innumerable remains, bewildering us in their vastness, variety, and extent. Not the least among the tremendous changes

noticeable is the now prominent position occupied by religion and religious rites. The identification of all local gods by their respective adherents, with the sun, and the resulting tendency to monotheism, is now universal. The literature of ritual and mythology is rapidly growing; especially the ritual of the dead, already existent as a germ in the Middle Empire, is now developing to an enormous bulk, to form the so-called "Book of the Dead," in which the older germ mentioned forms the 17th chapter. It is needless to state that the priesthood, as an organic element in this evolution, keeps even pace with it. More truly than in the Middle Empire is the priestly class now an exclusive and growing community. In addition to a distinguishing costume, partly that of the Middle Empire and partly the archaic style of the fourth dynasty, every priest was obliged to shave the head; and, although this was practiced in some other professions also, the wearer then replaced his natural head-dress by an artificial wig. This, however, was not permitted the priest, and his cleanly shaven head, never covered, even under the broiling Egyptian sun, was thus a never-failing sign of his office. At this period, too, for the first time, do we find a complex gradation of rank within the *personnel* of the sanctuary. Its members were divided into five classes, at the head of which stood the high priest. The laity, of course, enjoy no participation in the service, not even in the festal procession of the god. But to meet the demands of the elaborate ritual, music was necessary, and this is supplied by bands of women playing the sistrum. All women of rank exercised this function. I do not know of a grave tablet in the Royal Museum in Berlin, dating from this period, containing the name of a lady of rank who is not accorded this title of *kem'at*, or singer. The same is true in all collections.

Among the innumerable temples that dotted the land, that of Ammon at Thebes was, for some reason unknown to us, by far the most popular. Especially by the kings was particular favor shown to this sanctuary and its god. King after king of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties enumerates his gifts to the god, and they often foot up to enormous sums. The great

papyrus Harris, 133 feet long and containing seventy-nine pages, is nothing more than an itemized statement of the presents of Rameses III. to this temple, into the hands of whose cult fields and gardens, jewels and gold, flocks and herds, were gradually gathered, till its fortune was second only to the Pharaoh's own, and compared with which that of any other god was but a handful. By a seemingly very dangerous line of policy, the kings began gradually bringing other priestly communities under the control of the high priest of Ammon, until even the ancient sanctuaries of Heliopolis and Memphis surrendered their titles and authority to him.

Of the army of scribes, overseers, and assistants necessary to administer the vast wealth and conduct the ceremonies of his own and subordinate sanctuaries, it is not necessary to speak. The natural results of this policy of centralization, and the consequent fostering of so great a rival power in the state, will suggest themselves to the reader. The power of the Ramessides, the kings of the twentieth dynasty, gradually and surely declined, until the high priest of Ammon, *Hrihor*, unseated Rameses XII. from the throne, assumed the royal station himself, and became the founder of the priestly twenty-first dynasty. His line lasted for a hundred years, and, as far as domestic policy is concerned, might have continued its supremacy without difficulty. But the attack of the Libyan *Sheshonk*, who founded the next or twenty-second dynasty, brought the reign of the priest-kings to a close.

The above outline of Egyptian priestly history recognizes the main lines of the development. To the reader who is familiar with the growth of the priesthood in Israel, many analogous features have doubtless been suggested. A brief sketch of the line of development among the Hebrews will afford a full basis for comparison.

The narratives of the patriarchal period which the J document¹ in Genesis furnishes, show plainly that among the primi-

¹ The limits of this article will not permit the statement of the results of criticism in its partition of the Hexateuch into the documents variously designated, but if at all referred to here, they are indicated by J (Jehovist), E (Elohist), JE (a combination of the two), D (Deuteronomy), and P (Priests' Code). Their chronological order is probably that in which they are given.

tive people here pictured there was no priesthood. Every father of a family, by virtue of his position as such, exercised priestly functions, and conducted the simple ceremonies which accompanied the sacrifice in this archaic age. Whatever legislation upon the limitation of the priesthood Moses may have left, the *history* after the settlement in Canaan certainly shows that it followed a course of gradual development toward a distinct exclusiveness. This appears in the Book of Judges. In the body of the book (chapters 3 to 16) there is no trace of any priestly cult, nor any indication that the priesthood was followed as a calling. Indeed, the instances of sacrifice narrated (Gideon and Manoah) demonstrate quite the contrary. Later, however, not long before the beginning of the kingdom, we find at Shiloh an established and hereditary priesthood—the family of Eli. Yet the story of Samuel shows how far this was from being an exclusive community. The development of a priesthood, and the habit of coming to a common sanctuary, are of course synchronous, for the whole presentation in Judges shows that where these did not exist, or were not within convenient distance, the right of sacrifice was practiced by the father, or, as in the case of Micah (chap. 17), by one of the sons. The family of Eli was probably Levite, and one of two things is at this period possible: there was either a tendency toward an exclusive priestly class, who were subsequently given the name Levites or a family of Levitical birth, and descended from that of the law-giver, were inclined to take up the duties of the priesthood, and by the people were regarded as particularly suited to that office. The latter supposition would better explain the desire of Micah to secure for himself a Levite, to install whom he deposes his son. He furnishes us with the original method of procedure in installing a priest.

In the period of Kings the same method is observable. The king appoints his household priest or priests just as Micah did in the time of the Judges. As the kingdom became more worthy of the name, it is natural that the priesthood of the royal household should come to occupy a position of some prominence, as in the case of the two leading priests appointed by David, viz.,

Abiathar and Zadok. The former was the sole survivor of the family of Eli (eighty-five persons) destroyed at Nob by Saul, and is appointed by David for kindness shown himself by the priestly family to which he belonged. Zadok, however, belongs neither to the family of Eli, nor has he Levitical connection, and the occasion of his selection is not clear. Connection by any special lineage, however, is not necessary. The king retains the privilege of officiating himself or of appointing his sons (2 Sam. 8:18) to perform the same office. Solomon's banishment of Abiathar doubtless narrows the limits of the priestly household in the capital to the family of Zadok, but Solomon himself, as usual, exercises priestly functions. Outside of the capital, as subsequent examples show, sacrifice was offered at the pleasure of the offerer.

When the kingdom is divided, the northern tribes live entirely on the old lines. Jeroboam selected priests who were not Levites, but in this he simply exercised his right as head of the tribes and according to custom, just as David had done less than eighty years before him. Priestly privileges and the priestly community, however, were well defined before Samaria fell.¹

In Judah, under the fostering care of one royal house, the priesthood flourished, but always under the headship of the king; even down to the captivity, when Ezekiel is the first to assert its independence. Occupying through long generations so influential a position in the sanctuary of the capital, its community of priests, and especially the family of Zadok, became gradually more and more exclusive, and the priesthood in general a more distinct calling. In the book of Deuteronomy the priesthood stands forth a clearly defined inviolable cultus, every member of which is a Levite, and of which every Levite is a member. We no longer find any blood relative of the priestly community pursuing a worldly calling as in the time of Zadok, when one of his sons is a member of Solomon's court (1 Kgs 14:2). Likewise no man not of Levitical birth may enter the priestly ranks. Lest

¹This is evident from Deut. 33, a product of the northern kingdom and known as the Blessing of Moses, wherein those who follow the priestly calling comprise a definitely recognized class and body parallel with the tribal organizations themselves.

the discontinuance of the sacrifice outside of the capital in accordance with the Deuteronomic enactment should disfranchise the priesthood of the countryside, they are allowed to enjoy priestly privileges, if they will go up to the city and sacrifice with their brethren in the temple. Evidently the Zadokites of the capital were sufficiently strong to prevent their country brethren from taking advantage of this clause, for according to 2 Kgs 23: 9 they were not received as Deuteronomy enacts. This exclusion of them is justified by Ezekiel (chap. 44) on the ground that the service which they had conducted upon the high places of the land, was sinful, and their degradation from office a just punishment for this sin. Thus the priests who had officiated outside the capital, lost their priestly rank and are henceforth known as Levites (though Ezekiel does not yet call them such) to distinguish them from the true priests. The latter are of course likewise Levites according to the older designation, but the term is now never used for the legitimate priests, but reserved exclusively for their degraded brethren who now become temple servants, to perform its most menial duties.

Three advances, therefore, are made from an unlimited exercise of the priestly function to (1) a priesthood of the sanctuaries and especially of the royal house and temple, but not exclusive; (2) the exclusive legalization of the Levitical priesthood (Deut.); (3) a distinction within the ranks of the priesthood, between true priests and the degraded Levites.

Outside of the Levitical legislation, the distinction between true priests and Levites is found only in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Here a further development among the returned exiles is observable—singers, doorkeepers, and Nethinim having been added to the *personnel* of the temple. To supply the deficiency in the number of the Levites (for but a handful of them were willing to return from the exile to their degraded rank) foreigners were called in to fill these subordinate positions, required by the now elaborate ritual. In course of time all these subordinates came to be called Levites.

There is another and the most important peculiarity of the post-exilic cult, of which we have not yet spoken, *i. e.*, the High

Priest. Evidence is abundant that already in the time of the Kings, there was a leading priest in Jerusalem, and in the time of Jeremiah a system of divisions within the priestly community may be distinguished. But the fact that Ezekiel, notwithstanding his elaborate presentation of the new temple and its service, nowhere alludes to the unique office which the High Priest afterward clothed, shows that no such office existed previous to the exile. After the return, however, the situation is strikingly different. The old relation between prince and priest subsists no longer. Zerubbabel, a lineally descended prince of the house of David, after some mention disappears, and Joshua, the now acknowledged High Priest, his office glorified and exalted, becomes the head of the people, and Zechariah is finally directed to make a diadem of silver and gold and crown him (6:9-11). Thus does the spiritually exalted head of the people attain the exclusive rule. He is practically king. He wears the royal purple and his death marks the amnesty of the fugitive in the city of refuge. As the true priesthood stands raised above the Levites, so now the High Priest is exalted above his fellows, and becomes the apex of the state.

Respecting temple dues, suffice it to say that their number and magnitude keep pace with the development above traced, until in the post-exilic cultus they were enormous. The priests received practically everything, including a double tithe (to suit conflicting enactments in Deuteronomy and Leviticus). Yet out of all this they did not maintain the sacrifice, as was the old custom when everything was paid the king, but a poll tax of a third of a shekel was imposed in addition for this purpose.

The development of the priesthood in these two nations makes it evident that they present many points of similarity. From that beginning in the family, through centuries to the attainment of the most highly organized priesthood, the development among both Israelites and Egyptians moved along the same lines. In that earliest period a priesthood did not yet exist, as we have seen, in Israel; but in Egypt this phase is already past at the earliest point where the history reveals itself to us. What we find in the Old Empire is, roughly speaking, parallel

with the earlier period of the kings in Israel, when David had his leading priests, like Zadok and Abiathar; such as the Pharaoh had at Memphis and Heliopolis. The Middle Empire, with its strictly exclusive cult, is Egypt's Deuteronomic period. Finally, the New Empire, with a priesthood of five grades, enormously wealthy, conducting an elaborate and magnificent service, and subject to a high priest, who is ultimately crowned, presents us with the same main features which characterize the legislation of P and the post-exilic history. Many other resemblances, many marked differences too, will occur to every reader, but need not be followed here.

The fact that the development in Egypt began and was almost complete before that in Israel had commenced, or that the former consumed 2,500 years and the latter not a third so long, is no argument against the similarity. For the question is not one of the period of time in which the evolution took place, but of the evolution itself as taking place in both cases according to the same laws. By this the writer would not be understood as putting the two priesthoods upon the same level. What is here compared is only *external form*; the *content* in the case of Israel is infinitely higher, and the divine ideas which its priesthood embodies are incomparably more spiritual than anything Egypt at her best was able to attain. But it is the purpose of this comparison to show that in all the non-essentials of outward form the priesthood in Israel followed only the laws of development common to other nations. That this form was given a higher meaning than any other priesthood ever expressed is evident, but the message which Israel brought to the world is not less divine though it was written with "the pen of a man."

HOW ROME GOVERNED THE PROVINCES.

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To the student of political and of religious history alike, the story of Rome's career—her dominion and her downfall—is always a subject of fascinating interest. To Professor Freeman, Rome appears as the centre of universal history; to Professor Schaff, as the herald of Christianity. To Niebuhr, Rome was a mighty sea into which all the civilizations of antiquity emptied themselves, and from which all the civilizations of the modern world have taken their rise; to Augustine, the wreck of the Roman Empire furnished a foundation for the City of God. Nearly all the institutions of Rome seem to possess a kind of sacred as well as secular significance. The basilica in which sat her courts of justice became the models of Christian temples. The language of her statesmen and poets became the vehicle of Christian ritual and song. The gigantic network of roads over which marched her victorious armies were trodden by the missionaries of the Cross. The imperial power which subdued and organized the Mediterranean world also gave an external victory and unity to the Christian church.

This twofold interest which attaches to nearly everything that is Roman is, of course, due to the peculiar and close relation existing between Christianity and the political system into which it was born. The Roman Empire, indeed, furnished the environment of early Christianity. Born in a Roman province, the Founder of the new religion affirmed that the duties of men included their obligations to Cæsar as well as their obligations to God. St. Paul, in becoming an apostle to the Gentiles, became in fact a missionary to the Roman provincials; and, while performing his duties as a Christian preacher, also cherished his rights as a Roman citizen. The early Christians, while seeking to build up

a kingdom which was not of this world, could not entirely disentangle themselves from the all-encircling influence of Rome. Whether we read of the birth of Christianity in the New Testament Scriptures, or its pitiful struggles during the period of persecutions, or its triumph as the established religion of the state, we must always feel that its external history was largely conditioned by the laws, the institutions, and policy of Rome. On this account the knowledge of the Roman system of government, especially during the first century, seems to be a necessary auxiliary to the study of the New Testament. Within the space allotted to this article it will be possible to indicate only in a very general way the character of Rome's provincial government, and the burdens and benefits which it involved.

Those who are accustomed to examine the government of Rome in order to find the causes of its decline and fall, are often inclined to overlook the causes of its growth and greatness. That Rome fell at all may be sufficient to indicate that her government possessed elements of weakness ; but that she preserved her dominion in the West for twelve hundred years after the founding of the city, and in the East for a thousand years longer, is certainly an evidence that her political system possessed some remarkable elements of strength. In seeking for a generalization to indicate the political progress of the world, Professor Fiske declares that the principle of the Oriental world was conquest without incorporation; of the Roman world, conquest with incorporation but without representation ; of the modern world, incorporation together with representation. This is sufficiently concise to indicate the source of Rome's political strength. When she conquered the Mediterranean world she did not rest upon her conquests. The goal of her achievements was not dominion, but organization. It was not by her sword, but by her law, that she desired to rule the nations.

The attitude which the imperial city assumed with reference to her provinces seems to have grown out of a policy which may be said to be almost coeval with the founding of the city itself. According to the received theory, Rome sprang into existence by the union of three distinct tribes, or hilltowns, which came to

form the integral elements of a single body politic. Such a corporate union gave her strength to compete successfully with the neighboring towns of Latium, and, with the pacification of that territory, she learned that the granting of liberty was the price of loyalty. The Latin towns, while obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, were permitted to retain their rights of local government, and also to share with Roman citizens the civil rights incident to commercial and matrimonial relations—the *commercium* and *connubium*. With the extension of the Roman power over the Italian peninsula, conquest was followed in a greater or less degree by incorporation. By granting a variety of privileges to the different towns in Italy, according to their degrees of loyalty, Rome was able not only to retain her supremacy, but also gradually to bring her subjects into a corporate union with herself. This process of union was, it is true, often too slow for many of her subjects, and under the later Republic was hastened by the forcible demands of the allied towns. After the Social War, however, and the legislation which resulted from it, the incorporation of the Latin towns became practically complete, and Rome and Italy were one.

While this policy, which might be called one of progressive incorporation, was growing up in Italy, the limits of the Roman dominion were slowly encircling the countries washed by the Mediterranean. When once fairly drawn beyond the natural bounds of Italy, whether by hostile intrigues or by friendly gifts, her passion for conquest was inflamed; and no limits seemed to her secure short of those fixed by Augustus—the Rhine and the Danube on the north, the Euphrates on the east, the sands of Arabia and Africa on the south, and the ocean on the west.

To govern this vast domain of heterogeneous elements was a task for which Rome herself seemed at first not fully prepared. Her provincial system was largely the result both of experiment and of evolution, and the extension of the system which had already grown up in Italy. Her great practical insight enabled her to see that the provincial cities, like the Italian towns, could not at first be treated alike; and hence the most marked feature of her government was its pliancy and adaptability. While she had a love

for supremacy, she had no passion for uniformity. The barbarian West and the civilized East were almost two separate worlds; and she adjusted her rule to the existing arrangement of each. It is true that she broke up all confederacies and combinations which threatened her supremacy; but she at the same time respected the local institutions which had already become a part of the life of her provincial subjects. In Sicily the entire judicial and financial system of the king of Syracuse was maintained; the old method of taxation by tithes was preserved, and afforded no cause of complaint until the scandalous governorship of Verres. In Greece the local government suffered very little change, and even the confederacies were allowed to exist so far as they were merely religious in their character. In Egypt the territorial and political arrangements of the Ptolemies became the groundwork of the provincial government, and it is said that the people looked upon the Roman governor as a sort of vice-king, who had stepped into their throne. In Palestine, before the curatorship was established, the Jews retained their own local institutions, and were ruled by governors chosen from their own people.

In connection with the adaptability of the Roman rule, and the respect paid to existing arrangements, should be noticed the gradual extension of the Roman franchise and the policy of progressive incorporation similar to that which had prevailed in Italy. The towns or cities of the province, like those in Italy, formed the basis of the Roman administration. Guizot regards the whole Roman empire as simply an organization of cities. The province was, in fact, nothing but a group of towns in a given territory placed under control of a governor appointed by the central authority. There was the same gradation of privileges among the provincial towns as had already existed in Italy. For the sake of clearness we may group the various provincial towns as follows: First, Roman towns, including (*a*) Roman colonies and municipia, and (*b*) Latin colonies and municipia; and, secondly, non-Roman towns, including (*a*) free towns, allied and non-allied, and (*b*) tributary or stipendiary towns.

The Roman towns, in general, were those which possessed, either in whole or in part the Roman franchise, and were organ-

ized upon a Roman model. The difference between a colony and a municipium was mainly a difference of origin—the former being a body of citizens sent into the province, the latter a body of provincials admitted into the state. The colony might be called a child by birth, the municipium a child by adoption. But the two terms were sometimes interchangeable, and the same constitutional form characterized them both. The more important distinction among Roman towns—whether colonies or municipia—consisted in the fact that some possessed the full Roman franchise, while others possessed only the Latin right of *commercium*. Alexandria, Troas, Antioch in Pisidia, and Philippi were full Roman colonies. Their inhabitants possessed equal rights with those of the imperial city. Their municipal constitution was modeled after that of Rome. They passed their own municipal laws, levied their own taxes, and administered justice under their own charter, or the law by which their towns had each been constituted a municipality.

The non-Roman towns were, of course, those which had not received the Roman franchise or the Roman form of government. But a wide difference separated those which were free—*civitates liberæ*—and those which were tributary—*civitates stipendiariæ*. The free cities, whether such by treaty or by sufferance, were permitted to retain their own government, and were secure from foreign interference. They were generally relieved from the garrisons of Roman soldiers, and from the insignia of Roman officers. Such cities were the Syrian Antioch, Tyre, Tarsus, Rhodes, Thessalonica, Athens, and nearly all the cities of Greece. While the inhabitants of these towns did not possess Roman citizenship by virtue of their residence, they might as individuals receive the franchise as a special gift, or by birth from one who had already received it, as was the case with St. Paul. But the large majority of non-Roman towns were not free, but tributary; and while they were generally permitted to retain their own internal government and laws, they were obliged to bear the chief burdens of the Roman rule.

But with all the variety of privileges which marked the provincial towns, there was a constant and growing tendency to

assimilate them to the condition of Roman colonies and municipia, until with the edict of Caracalla (215 A. D.) all the free-born subjects of the Roman world were granted the full rights of citizenship. Thus it was that the policy of conquest was attended by the policy of incorporation.

A group of towns in a given territory—however diverse may have been the privileges granted to them at the time of their conquest—were constituted a province by the appointment of a governor and the passage of a "*lex provinciae*" which defined in a general way the authority delegated to the provincial officers. The "*lex provinciae*" may be regarded as a sort of charter, or written constitution, intended to secure the persons and the property of the provincials from the uncertainty and caprice of their different officials. To the governor was given the military and judicial, to the quæstor the financial, administration. These officers, with their subordinates, were supposed to rule the province, not according to their own will, but according to the law of the Senate. If the provincial government under the republic was accompanied by great evils, it was due not so much to the law as to the fact that the law could not make upright men. The Roman governors were frequently men in whom all real public spirit had died out, and while they may have appeared impartial in the administration of civil justice, and have been compelled to respect many of the constitutional rights of the cities, were yet evidently disposed to seize every opportunity to benefit themselves at the expense of their subjects. Although it was a law that every governor was answerable, at the expiration of his term, for the character of his administration, it was too often the case that these officers were not held legally responsible for the performance of those duties which the "*lex provinciae*" or the imperial commission required.

The chief burdens which rested upon the people of the provinces may be summed up as military and financial—the levy and the tribute. We are accustomed to think of the Romans as pre-eminently a military people. If we confined our attention to the period of conquest during the Republic, when every man was subject to military service, and when the energies

of the state were for the most part devoted to foreign conquest, such a characterization would not be far from correct. But with the establishment of the Empire, and the development of the standing army, there was a manifest decay of the martial spirit. The military burdens which rested upon the Roman people under the early Empire were far less severe than those which now rest upon most of the countries of modern Europe. In the reign of Tiberius the total number of troops has been estimated at 320,000 men. Gibbon estimates the population of the Empire at about 120,000,000. To-day Germany, with a population of 47,000,000, supports a permanent army of 492,000 men; and France, with 38,000,000 of people, supports an army of 555,000 men. Or, to put the comparison in another form, the chief countries which now occupy the territory of the Roman Empire are Spain, France (including Algeria and Tunis), Italy, Greece, and Turkey (including the tributary states). These countries have a population of about 121,000,000, or a little more than that which Gibbon assigns to the Roman Empire. But the permanent armies of these countries, when reckoned on a peace footing, number more than 1,130,000 men; while the war force of these countries amounts to more than 4,500,000 men (*Statesman's Year-Book* for 1890). With such facts as these staring us in the face, we are hardly in a position to declaim loudly against the military burdens resting upon the Roman provincials.

But the most grievous burden which the provincials were compelled to endure was that resulting from taxation. To support the armies, to provide for a host of civil officials, to keep in repair the public works, to support the worship of the state, to feed the populace and to pension the soldiers, to provide for the public spectacles and sports, to meet the luxurious and prodigal expenditures of the emperors,—required the use of nearly every form of revenue—taxes upon arable land, upon pasture land, upon the produce of the soil, upon mines, upon incomes, upon wares and slaves sold in the market, upon inheritances, upon imposts. But the most oppressive and corrupting feature of the financial system was the method of farming the revenue. Instead of collecting the taxes through state officers, the taxes

were let out to a society of publicani, who guaranteed to the state a certain amount of revenue. The state was thus spared the expense of collection, but the province itself suffered greatly for this convenience. The publicani were authorized to collect only the amount imposed by law, but every temptation existed for corruption and extortion. The service, which was ostensibly undertaken for the state, was perverted to private gains; and the system of "spoils" thus introduced resulted not only in robbing the provinces, but also in undermining public virtue and official integrity.

Over against these burdens may be mentioned certain benefits which the provincials derived from the Roman rule; and chief among these were the reign of comparative peace within the provinces, and the introduction of a universal system of law. It is of course possible to exaggerate the importance of the *Pax Romana*, as it is also possible to depreciate its significance. With the exception of the conquest of Britain and the wars of Trajan, there were no important wars of aggression undertaken from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius. The most unjust military act of the early Empire was without doubt the reduction of Jerusalem. With these exceptions it may be said that the Empire was devoted to the interests of peace. But the comparative pacification of the world under the Roman rule was made possible only by a system of universal law. The *jus gentium*, the Roman "law of nations," that law which was higher than the law of any single community, and which was the most important element of Roman jurisprudence and also the greatest bequest of Rome to modern civilization, was in large part an outgrowth of Rome's provincial system.

With our present historical perspective it is possible to see many defects in the Roman system of government. Autocratic power, prodigality in public expenditures, the absence of representation, the decay of public spirit and of official integrity, the opportunities afforded for political corruption, the growth of the "spoils system," the lack of sufficient constitutional protection against arbitrary authority—not to mention slavery, social immorality, economical distress, which, though features of Roman

society, were not distinctive elements of the political system,—are enough to show that the Roman Empire fell far short of a perfect state. But with all its defects, the Roman Empire has bequeathed to modern society certain principles of political authority and of legalized rights without which our boasted Teutonic freedom and individualism might have proved inadequate to the needs of a well-ordered state. Of the two antithetical elements—liberty and law, freedom and authority—which must be united in the synthesis of a perfect state, one of these at least we have inherited from Rome. And it may be a question whether we may not have received from the same source a larger share of the other element than we are inclined to admit. When we remember how far the forms of constitutional liberty have descended to us from the chartered rights of municipal and commercial corporations, and the extent to which the chartered rights of corporations are traceable to a Roman source, we may be prepared to open our minds to the conviction that the Roman law was not merely an instrument of authority, but also a protection of civil liberty; and that, in view of such inestimable gifts, we should exercise some Christian charity in weighing the defects even of the pagan Empire. It is only within the last century that the world has come to a full appreciation of representative and constitutional government as a worthy substitute for centralization and absolutism; and it may be a serious question whether we have yet entirely divested ourselves of those dangerous features of political life which in no small degree contributed to the downfall of the Roman Empire.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE CHURCHES OF PAUL.¹

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The aim of this paper is simply exegetical. We do not raise the question whether Paul's practice in reference to woman's part in public worship is binding upon the churches of the present, but only the question what Paul's practice really was.

It is plain that this question has been answered from two passages, which seem, at first glance, most explicit, but whose interpretation is, in reality, still somewhat obscure, while a considerable number of pertinent data that give us glimpses into Paul's missionary practice in the matter in question, have been wholly ignored. And further, it is plain that one passage, whose teaching is evident (*1 Cor. 14: 3-16*), has been violently treated in order to make it harmonize with the two questionable passages. Thus the old law of interpretation, which requires us to explain the obscure by the clear, has been neglected, greatly to the embarrassment of many women, who, while respecting Paul, have desired to give expression to their Christian faith in the congregation of the Lord's people.

These two questionable passages (*1 Cor. 14: 34-35; 1 Tim. 2: 11-12*) have generally been understood as teaching that the apostle prohibited women from participating in public worship. Some writers, without any good exegetical reason, have thought that Paul's teaching on this subject was for his day only. Others, with an air of superior wisdom and liberality, have declared that Paul was narrow-minded on this subject, while they forget that he has given us the sublimest ideal of woman's relation to man which can be found in the Bible (*Eph. 5: 22-33*).

¹ Read before *The Chicago Society of Biblical Research*, Jan. 21, 1893.

We hope to show in this paper that Paul's position toward women in Christian work and worship was liberal, and that the ordinary interpretation of the two questionable passages is certainly wrong.

I.

THE NEGLECTED EVIDENCE.

It is worthy of notice, at the outset, that Paul makes honorable mention, by name, of more contemporary women than all the other New Testament writers together. This does not appear to be quite in harmony with the repressive policy which is generally supposed to have been pursued by the apostle in relation to women. But surely, the facts which we have in regard to this illustrious list of women who arose in the field of Paul's labors are most decidedly *not* in harmony with the usual view of the apostle's position.

Paul's first European sermon was preached to a little company of *women* (Acts 16: 3), and his first European convert was a *woman*, named Lydia (Acts 16: 14). Lydia was a business woman, had formerly lived in Asia Minor, but when she was converted by Paul she owned a home in Philippi. Her house became the home of Paul, Silas and Luke, while they remained in that city. Are we to suppose that in the following days of Paul's work in Philippi, when Lydia, his hostess, was moved to testify in the meetings for worship of the grace of the Lord toward her, Paul restrained her, and told her to keep silence in the church?

But there is other interesting information about Philippian women. Some eleven years after Paul's first visit in Philippi he wrote a letter from Rome to the Philippian church, in which he refers to two women who had labored with him in the Gospel — Euodia and Syntyche (Phil. 4: 2-3). The verb here used, which is translated by "labored," suggests heroic striving, and this striving was "in the Gospel," that is, in the service of the Gospel, for its advancement. These women had striven heroically with the apostle. They had done the same sort of work, apparently, as Clement, whose name is mentioned with theirs.

But whether it was the same specific sort of work which Clement did or not, it was doubtless public work. It was characterized by the same moral earnestness that characterized Clement's work, and was treated by Paul as worthy of the same commendation.

This work had been done when Paul first labored in Philippi. But now, eleven years later, Euodia and Syntyche are still laboring in Philippi, and are so prominent in the church that some disagreement between them is counted, by the apostle, worthy of mention in his letter to the church.

Thus, of the five persons in the Philippian church who are known by name, three are women. Are we to suppose that these three were silent when the little band of believers came together for conference and prayer? Were they prominent in the Christian work of Philippi and dumb before the Lord? Did they stand side by side with Clement and Paul in Gospel work, and yet not share with them in the social weekly worship?

In passing on to the next historic name, it may be noticed that in Thessalonica, the second European church, not a few of the chief women believed (Acts 17: 4); in Beroea, the third European church, not a few Greek women of honorable estate believed (Acts 17: 12); and in Athens, where Paul had little success, of the two converts who are mentioned by name, one was a woman—Damaris (Acts 17: 34).

It is not exactly probable that Paul would have won so many of the chief women in these cities if he had been narrow-minded in reference to the sphere and power of women.

In Corinth Paul met with a Jewish woman by the name of Priscilla, who must have been one of the most prominent figures in the Christian circles of Corinth, Ephesus, and Rome. She was the wife of Aquila, a Jew of Pontus (Acts 18: 2). Paul came in contact with Aquila because he was of the same trade (Acts 18: 3). There is no direct evidence that Aquila and Priscilla were converted by Paul. They may have been, or they may have been Christians before Paul came to Corinth. They had recently come to Corinth from Rome, whence the Jews had been expelled by Claudius, because, as Suetonius says, they were constantly raising

tumults at the instigation of Christ. This seems to point to the existence of Christianity among the Jews in Rome as early as 50 A. D., and Aquila and Priscilla may have gone to Corinth as Christian Jews.

However that may be, they were among the most important coadjutors of Paul. The facts to be noticed here are (1) that Aquila and Priscilla had an important part in the training of Apollos, who was mighty in the Scriptures, and who is held by many to have been the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Acts 18: 24–28); (2) that they had a church in their house in Ephesus, whither they had gone with Paul (1 Cor. 16: 19); (3) that, later, they seemed to have returned to Rome, where also they had a church in their house (Rom. 16: 5); and (4) that they *both* were fellow-workers with Paul in Christ Jesus, to whom, he says, all the churches of the Gentiles were indebted (Rom. 16: 3–4).

It appears from these passages that Priscilla, no less than Aquila, was an instructor of one of the most prominent preachers of the Apostolic age; that Priscilla, no less than Aquila, gathered and conducted the church which was in their house in Corinth, and also the church which was in their house in Rome; and that Priscilla, no less than Aquila, was a fellow-worker with Paul, who was known among all the Gentile churches, and who had laid them all under obligation to herself. Of the three times that Paul mentions Aquila and Priscilla together, the name of Priscilla twice precedes, a suggestion that she may have been quite as efficient in Christian work as was her husband (Rom. 16: 3; 2 Tim. 4: 19).

Now is it probable that Priscilla had a church in her house in Ephesus and Rome, and that her lips were sealed in the meetings for conference and prayer? Is it probable that she could instruct Apollos, a learned Jew from Alexandria, and yet had nothing to say to the humble disciples who gathered in her house from week to week?

We pass on to notice the women who are mentioned in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It is of no significance for the present purpose whether this last chapter was a

part of the original Epistle to the Romans, or was part of a letter sent to the church at Ephesus. In any case it is from Paul, and contains valuable suggestions regarding the place of women in his churches.

The first woman of this chapter is Phœbe, of Cenchrea, the eastern suburb of Corinth. There was a church there, and Phœbe was a prominent servant of it, if indeed she was not an office-holder. It can not be said positively that she was or was not a deaconess, but she is certainly the only member of the church of Cenchrea whose name has come down to us. The fact that Paul commends her to the brethren in Rome, and bespeaks for her their assistance in whatsoever thing she might have need of them, indicates that she was engaged in some sort of Christian work. She was still a member of the church at Cenchrea, and apparently had gone to Rome in the interest of the Gospel.

Passing over Priscilla, of whom we have already spoken, the next woman whom Paul mentions is Mary, who had bestowed much wearisome labor upon the believers in Rome. Then he salutes two women who are still sharing the same sort of work in Rome, Tryphena and Tryphosa, and a third, Persis, perhaps of Persian blood, who had labored much in the Lord. Thus four women of the Roman church, beside Priscilla, are particularly commended for Christian service.

It is worthy of notice that of the seventeen *men* in the Roman church, beside Aquila, who are mentioned by name, only *one* is commended for his work. Of course it is not to be inferred that the others had not worked, but it is not plainly affirmed that they had. The suggestion is that the women had been more distinguished for Christian service than the men. Now it is not wholly probable that these women who are thus commended by Paul for their public work in Christ were not allowed a part in the weekly gatherings of the believers for worship.

One woman remains to be mentioned. Paul sends salutations from Rome by way of Colossæ to a certain Nympha of Laodicea, and to the church in her house (Col. 4:15). Here, then, is another Priscilla, but without an Aquila. Here is a Christian

woman in whose house the believers of Laodicea, or a portion of them, meet from week to week. Is it probable that Nympha gathered the church in her house, and yet never gave expression to her Christian faith in the meetings for worship?

It may be noted that in every case where a house-church is mentioned in Paul's letters, there is a *woman* in the house. There is the church at Laodicea in Nympha's house; the church in Ephesus in the house of Aquila and Priscilla; the church in Rome in their house; and the church at Colossæ in the house of Philemon and Apphia.

Before closing this section it may be remarked that there is not, in connection with any one of these women who labored with Paul in the Gospel, a single indication that the apostle debarred them from participating in public worship.

II.

THE PERVERTED EVIDENCE.

In 1 Cor. 11:3-16 there is a discussion of what the apostle thought an impropriety in the public worship. Women were praying and prophesying with unveiled heads. Paul thought that this was disgraceful. A woman, he says in substance, might as well cut her hair off or shave, as to pray or prophesy unveiled. The being veiled seemed to him important, because he regarded it as required by woman's subordination to man. This subordination was of God. 'Man is the glory of God, he says; woman, the glory of man. The man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man. This subordination he softens somewhat a little later, when he says that, after all, the man is not without the woman, and that the man is *by* the woman as truly as the woman is *of* the man. He adds, as a last argument why women should be veiled, the fact that nature has given them long hair. This is an indication that their heads should be covered.

We are not here concerned with Paul's arguments for the covering of a woman's head when she prays or prophesies. They may be fanciful or not. The one point to be noticed is this: he assumes that women will pray and prophesy. He says no word

against their praying and prophesying, but he insists that they shall do it in a becoming manner.

Meyer assumes that this praying and prophesying which Paul allows *must* have been in *small* circles, and not in the gathering of the entire church. Women prayed and prophesied in a sort of unofficial neighborhood prayer meeting. But this does violence to the text; for (1) there is no allusion in chapter 11. to justify the statement that the praying and prophesying which Paul allowed were in a "small" circle. On the contrary, the context shows that the praying and prophesying were in the ordinary weekly meetings of the Corinthian believers. For in verses 17-18, which are a manifest continuation of the first section of the chapter, Paul plainly speaks of the regular weekly gatherings at which they celebrated the Lord's supper.

(2) Meyer's assertion, that the praying and prophesying of women in 1 Cor. 11:3-16 were in small circles, has no pertinency unless there was a clearly marked qualitative difference between a small circle and the entire circle of Corinthian believers. Without such a distinction, the concession that women could speak in a circle of ten is a concession of the whole point. Paul would not allow them to speak to ten and prohibit their speaking to twenty. But there is absolutely no trace of a difference in kind between the gatherings for worship in the churches of Paul, whether in Corinth or elsewhere. The church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus was as truly a church as were the believers in Corinth. Paul did not fix the number of believers who should constitute a church, nor did he insist that a particular form of worship, or a definite set of officers, was essential to the existence of a church. Therefore, the view of Meyer, adopted by many others, is unexegetical and unhistorical.

Weiss¹ has the following remarkable interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:5-16. He says that the apostle *seems* to allow women to pray and prophesy in the church, but does not in reality. For Paul insists that they shall be *veiled*, and if they are veiled, why, then it is self-evident that they cannot pray and prophesy. That

¹ *Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, third German edition, p. 390.

is to say, Paul was really joking when he said that women might pray and prophesy. This attempt to get rid of the seeming conflict between 11:5 and 14:34 is quite as desperate as that of Meyer, and is not at all in line with the "neglected evidence" which we have adduced in reference to Paul's relation to women.

The intelligent reader who has not chapter 14:34 in mind, and is not seeking to harmonize it with chapter 11:5, will draw but one conclusion from the latter passage, viz., this: that Paul allowed women to pray and prophesy in the ordinary Christian gatherings in Corinth.

Hence, we must say that the liberal attitude of Paul toward women in Christian work, which appears in the evidence cited in the first section of this paper, is also illustrated in the Corinthian church.

III.

THE QUESTIONABLE EVIDENCE.

Thus far we have found Paul laboring with women, and commending them highly for public Christian services. As far as the Corinthian church was concerned, we have seen that he took it for granted that women would pray and prophesy in the public worship.

We come now to the passages which at first glance seem to be at variance with the evidence already adduced. These are 1 Cor. 14:34-35—"Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in *subjection*, as also saith the law. And if they would *learn* anything, let them ask their own husbands at home, for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." And 1 Timothy 2:11-12: "Let a woman *learn* in quietness with all *subjection*, but I permit not a woman to teach, nor to have *dominion* over a man, but to be in quietness."

It will be noticed (1) that in both these passages there is a reference to the woman's being in *subjection*. This is manifestly the end which the apostle has in view. This is the point at which the Corinthian women were going beyond what Paul thought becoming, and apparently some women were doing the

same thing in Ephesus. Their speaking is set over against their being in subjection. Any speaking is forbidden by these passages which is not consonant with due subjection to their husbands. This was the very point at issue in chapter 11:3-16. Paul said nothing there against woman's participation in public worship, but said only that she should do so in a manner in keeping with her divinely appointed relation to man. So here the same end is in view. The speaking which is prohibited is that which transgresses the limits of proper womanly subjection. One thing is pretty certain: if Paul in chapter 11 did not think praying and prophesying necessarily at variance with woman's subordination to man, he did not think so when he dictated chapter 14. Therefore, what he prohibits in chapter 14:34-35 cannot be praying and prophesying.

It will be noticed (2) that in both the questionable passages it is implied that the speaking which Paul prohibits was a speaking to *learn*. "If they would *learn* anything, let them ask their own husbands." "Let a woman *learn* in quietness, with all subjection." But it is evident that praying to God in public worship, or prophesying, was not speaking in order to learn. Prayer was a speaking to God, and prophesying was to the end of edifying others, not of learning.

The speaking, therefore, which both these passages imply, was plainly something other than modest praying and prophesying. This is the important point. Even if no plausible explanation could be given of the speaking or manner of speaking which is prohibited, that would not lessen the value of the result which has been reached. We know what was *not* prohibited.

We may suppose with Heinrici that the prohibition of chapter 14:34-35 was a prohibition of a forward asking of questions. The women were in the habit of interrupting the worship in this way. Therefore, Paul says that if they wished to *learn* anything they should put their questions to their husbands at home. Of course, such an asking of questions on the part of men would have been equally objectionable. The fact that men are not rebuked probably indicates that in Corinth the women were the chief offenders.

Why such an asking of questions should have been regarded as showing a lack of subjection is not said. It might be supposed that some of the men objected to it, and that in spite of their objecting the women persisted in asking questions.

In conclusion of the whole matter we would say, (1) that Paul's entire practice and his words, apart from the two questionable passages, are unalterably against the view that in these passages, he prohibits the women from participation in public worship; and (2) that an examination of these two passages themselves, far from *requiring* us to refer them to participation in public worship, shows that they contemplate something quite different from worship.

Paul is not guilty, then, in this matter, of self contradiction, and he is not to be charged with having excluded women from participating in all or any of the exercises of public worship. All believers, without distinction of sex, could come into the gatherings for worship and bring a psalm, or a teaching, or a revelation, or a tongue, or an interpretation (1 Cor. 14:26).

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A course of six lectures was given by Ira M. Price, Ph.D., April 24-28, under the auspices of the Minneapolis Local Board of the Institute, Rev. George R. Merrill, President, Rev. Wm. P. McKee, Secretary. The course included four illustrated lectures of the series, "What the Monuments tell us Relative to the Old Testament," and two specially prepared papers. In the first, Dr. Price treated the subject "What the Criticism of the past One Hundred Years has Done for the Old Testament." In the second he traced the growth of "The Canon." The attendance reached six hundred, and though the weather was unpropitious, the receipts were considerably in excess of expenses.

The Institute already has plans well matured for further lectures in Minneapolis in the summer and fall.

The following series of questions, designed to "feel the pulse" of the college world on the question of Bible study, both in English and the original languages, has been submitted to the parties most likely to be interested in the matter in the various colleges and universities of the country. The results will be embodied in an article which will appear in the *BIBLICAL WORLD*:

1. Is there a chair of Semitic languages in your institution?
2. If not, do any of your instructors offer courses in the Semitic languages?
3. Is there a chair of New Testament Greek in your institution?
4. If not, do any of your instructors offer courses in the biblical Greek?
5. Is there a chair of biblical literature in English in your institution?
6. If not, do any of your instructors offer courses in the English Bible as a part of your curriculum, required or elective?
7. What religious organizations have you?
8. Do these organizations conduct any special work in Bible study? What is its character?
9. Are students who do regular work in a regular biblical course of the institution required to prepare for class recitation as in other departments of the University?
10. What is the general attitude of your faculty toward Bible study as a part of your curriculum?
11. What proportion of your students are doing required biblical work in (a) Semitics, (b) biblical Greek, (c) the English Bible?

12. What proportion are doing voluntary work in (a) Semitics, (b) biblical Greek, (c) the English Bible?

13. How many students in all are engaged in biblical work in (a) regular courses, (b) religious organizations?

Under the auspices of the Institute special biblical lectures and Bible readings are presented in the chapel of University of Chicago every Sunday at 4 P.M. During May and June, President Harper, the Principal of the Institute, has lectured on "The Prophecies connected with the Fall of Jerusalem." He will be followed during July, August and September by eminent biblical scholars from all parts of the country, who will be in Chicago at various dates in attendance at the World's Fair. The lectures are intended primarily for visiting college students, but are open to the general public.

Dr. Chas. F. Kent who has represented the Institute in the annual Y. P. S. C. E. conventions of several of the Pacific Coast and other Western States, reports much enthusiasm in Bible study lines in that part of the country. He gave one or more addresses on the general subject at each convention, and was frequently called on for addresses on special themes. As a result of this work several hundred persons handed in their names as applicants for further information regarding the work of the Institute, and plans have been made for forming classes, under the direction of the Institute, in several places where its work has been almost wholly unknown before.

In addition to the usual courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek at the Chautauqua Summer School this year, three methods of work will be followed in the English Bible School, viz.: lecture study and discussion, regular class work, and conferences of the entire school. The following interesting list of subjects will be considered in the conferences led by the various instructors:

First term, July 5-19. 1. The Origin of the Gospels. 2. The Limitations of the Sacred Writers. 3. The Study of the Original Biblical Tongues. 4. Assyrian Discoveries.

Second term, July 19-August 2. 1. Specific and General Prediction. 2. The Canon of the New Testament. 3. Bible Study in connection with Organizations for Christian Work. 4. Peter's Gospel.

Third term, August 2-16. The Book of Daniel. 2. The Editorial Element in the Bible. 3. Bible Study in the Home. 4. How much of the Teaching of the Epistles is local and temporary?

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT JUDAISM. By PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SCHODDE, PH.D., in *The Bibliotheca Sacra* for April 1893, pp. 193-219.

The idea of one God controlling the whole universe and all peoples is distinctively a revealed idea, and is the peculiar possession of ancient Israel. The effect of the exile was to strengthen this idea. The disintegrating process which set in with the conquest of the Orient by Alexander the Great, and to which other nations fell an easy prey, only intensified Israel's consciousness of being a peculiar people, with a most important historical mission to perform. Yet when Christ appears we find him in antagonism with the Judaism of his day. A right conception of the nature of this antagonism is necessary to a true interpretation of Christ's teachings, since his teaching was constantly presented in opposition to the current Judaism. But when we speak of Judaism we must in fact refer chiefly to the doctrines of the Pharisees, who without doubt represented the controlling religious thought of the times. Three great features of the Pharisaism opposed by Jesus may be named. First and fundamental is its erroneous conception of the Kingdom of God. By this term the Pharisees meant, to be sure, the development and realization of the prophetic ideal, yet they had in fact despiritualized that ideal. It is indeed a mistake to suppose that the ideal of the Pharisees was political. What they looked for was not a new state, but the supremacy of the law in the life of the people. Their hope was that when the proper time should come, Israel as a nation, or better still, as a religious sect, as an international religious communion of law-observers, would become partakers of the promised glories of the Messianic rule. The error of this conception was that it emphasized the national idea instead of the spiritual idea as the principal feature of the kingdom of God. It lost sight of the reality of sin, and of the consequent need of a spiritual transformation in order to the realization of the kingdom of God. A second error of the Pharisaic teaching was that, for faith as the normal relation of man to God, it substituted the nomistic (legalistic) principle. Thus instead of looking for a spiritual transformation attained through the exercise of faith in God, the Pharisees looked for a national and essentially worldly exaltation of Israel through a formal observance of law. A third characteristic of the Judaism of the New Testament times was the relatively small place which the person of the Messiah filled. It was the blessings of the Messianic age that were desired; and these were of such a character as to leave only a subordinate place for the Messiah himself.

In all these respects we see only a one-sided development of a biblical idea, a thrusting into the prominent place of what the Old Testament made subordinate. As respects the origin of New Testament Judaism, this is to be found in the establishment of the nomistic principle by Ezra and his coadjutors as the sole controlling principle of the religious life of the people. The post-exilic history of Israel acted to confirm this tendency. The Maccabean wars were fought in defence of *the law*, and the whole opposition of pious Israel to the paganizing influence of Hellenism acted in the same direction, emphasizing legalism.

A valuable article upon a topic most important for the right understanding of the teaching of Jesus. We shall never fully comprehend what Christ taught till we understand the views of those to whom his teachings were in the first instance addressed. The title is possibly a little obscure. It means not the true Judaism which Jesus and the New Testament writers presented, but the Judaism of the New Testament times, the Judaism which Jesus opposed. The theory of the article respecting the origin of this type of Judaism, viz., that it sprang from Ezra, is in the form in which it is presented a little startling. Especially does it seem strange in view of the author's previous assertion that Jesus defended the true Old Testament ideal of the kingdom of which New Testament Judaism presented a corrupted form. It may be questioned whether the author has not somewhat over-stated the spirituality of the ideal of the kingdom presented by the Old Testament prophets in general, if not also the legalism of Ezra in particular, thus creating a sharper antithesis between the prophets and Ezra than the facts altogether justify.

E. D. B.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE PSALTER TO A LEVITICAL SYSTEM. By Rev.
HENRY HAYMAN, D.D., in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1893. Pages
238-60.

The Book of Psalms, according to recent theories, ought to mark a great advance on the pre-exilic prophets in the evidence of Levitical ordinances, their value and obligatory character—not, of course, as set forth in formal detail, but as extolled in religious sentiment. Prof. Robertson Smith states (O. J. C., p. 242) that, whereas, "in the Levitical System access to God . . . was only attained through the mediation of Aaronic priests at the central sanctuary," and whereas "the ordinary Israelite meets there with God only on special occasions, and during the greater part of his life must . . . stand afar off," "the reformers of Israel [the earlier prophets] strove against the lapses of Israel into idolatry, but not on the ground of the Levitical theory of Israel's absolute separation from the nations, or of a unique holiness radiating from one sanctuary, and descending in widening circles, through priests and Levites, to the ordinary Israelite. The history itself does not accept the Levitical standard." What part does the evidence of the Psalter play in this question? According to Prof. Smith it was "the service-book of the second temple." As such it should especially emphasize those elements which, according to him, are absent in the pre-exilic prophets. In the first place, we present the question

of exaltation of moral duties, etc., either absolutely or as compared with ritual generally, and Levitical sacrifices and ceremonies in particular. In this question are involved those of Israel's absolute separation, of a unique holiness, etc., of consecration of tabernacle, brazen altar, and Aaronic privilege :

1. The requirement of moral, etc., dispositions as preferred to outward rite is illustrated in scores of passages, e. g., Ps. 4:5, "offer the sacrifices of righteousness;" 15:1 sq.; 24:3 sq.; 114:12; 26:6. The contrast between the Levitical and moral standards is brought out especially in Ps. 40:6-8, 9-10. To change over to Ps. 79 we find "Jerusalem in heaps," with cries to God for salvation and for retribution upon the enemy (vss. 9-12), and no reference at all to sacrifices or Levitical standards; cf. also Ps. 106: 16,17. The longest and one of the latest contributions to the Psalter, Ps. 119, contains nothing by which one could prove the existence of a priestly code, or of the appointed Levitical *media*.

Neither in the pre-exilic prophets, nor in the Psalter, in its earlier productions, are the material *media* of worship disowned or rejected. They have a place, but beside the moral and spiritual requirements that place is infinitely low. With the sanctuary, the temple, the oracle, the house, we find the servants, the Aaronic priesthood who ministered therein, clothed with righteousness and with salvation, and filled with an holy unction.

2. What evidence now does the Psalter adduce to the existence of a written code of laws? In all its references to the exodus and wilderness wanderings there is not the slightest evidence to any Mosaic legislation. There is not a passage as strong as Mal. 4:4 : "Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel." So far from "the ordinary Israelite meeting with God only on special occasions," the uniform burden of the Psalms is the directness of personal access to God. If the prophets, as alleged, have little to show in the way of testimony to the requirements of a code, the Psalter has equally little. If positive evidence to a *corpus juris* is not deducible from the prophetic writings, in the Psalter it is a total blank. Since the evidence from the Psalter for such a written *corpus* is thus weak precisely at the period when it might be expected to be strongest, it is entirely safe to dismiss any presumption against that written *corpus* as existing in the time of Amos and Isaiah which arises from the evidence presented by them. The lesson to be learned from the whole array of evidence in the prophets, and in the Psalter alike, is in fact the weakness of negative evidence, of *argumentum e silentio*. Those who deny the existence of a written law and a Levitical practice conformable to it in the pre-Babylonian period, on the ground that the prophets do not recognize the one and deprecate as far as they recognize, the other, are therefore in the logical error of proving too much.

Since the appearance of Canon Cheyne's Bampton Lectures, the dates of the Psalms have assumed a new importance. The author of the above article offers the

result of his study both as antagonistic to Cheyne's Maccabean lodestone and Robertson Smith's lawless prophetic periods. His conclusions are worth careful consideration, and, in certain respects, must modify the bold assertions of dogmatists. PRICE.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: IV. THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS. By Rev. PROF. A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*, for April, 1893.

Among the Greeks in Corinth the anti-Paulinists could not hope to succeed in destroying a free and independent Christianity, except by a circuitous course. They could not directly teach their own doctrines, but they might assail the man who taught doctrines of an opposite nature, might blacken his character, and undermine his apostolic standing. Hence there is very little bearing on the great Judaistic controversy in the first epistle, though allusions are not absent. The existence of a Judaistic leaven in the Corinthian Church, even when the first epistle was written, best explains 1 Cor. 9:1-6, where Paul seems to be on the defensive, and where the leading points of his apology for his assailed apostolic standing can be discovered. I am an apostle, he says in effect, because (1) I have seen the Lord, (2) I have been signally successful in my preaching, (3) I have endured hardships in the cause. These arguments are fully expanded in the second epistle. His whole defense rests on the general axiom that the qualifications for the Christian apostleship are spiritual, and not technical.

1. His first line of defence is that *he has seen the Lord*, primarily on the way to Damascus, but chiefly in that vision of Jesus with the eye of the spirit which enabled him to gain an insight into the true meaning of Christ's whole earthly history, 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:6. In matters of fact pertaining to the life of Jesus, the testimony of the other apostles possessed unique authority. But as to the religious significance of these facts, he speaks with superior authority who best understands them. In this respect Paul's vision of the spirit put him on an equality with the chiefest of the apostles. Paul, however, does not go to the length of assuming that apostolic authority rests on spiritual insight only. He regards the apostles as exceptional characters, not merely in view of the measure of their inspiration, but because they were eye-witnesses of the resurrection. Hence the stress which he lays on the fact of having himself seen Jesus.

2. The second line of defence is, *success in the work of the apostleship*. Paul frequently refers to his success, not in a spirit of boasting, but in the way of serious argument and self-defence, 1 Cor. 15:10; 2 Cor. 2:14; 3:18; 4:16. He would have the Corinthians carefully consider what this success meant, and takes pains in the sequel to make them understand its significance. It was a proof of sufficiency, or fitness, for the work, 2 Cor. 2:16. This sufficiency he fully defines by showing that it is insight into, and thorough sympathy with, the genius of the Christian religion. The second line of defence

thus runs up into the first, 2 Cor. 3:6-11. Of his own fitness to proclaim the religion of spirit, of life, and of righteousness, he having by a bitter experience proved legalism to be a religion of condemnation and death, he says nothing directly, but doubtless thinks of it as he writes. Instead he refers to another element of sufficiency, *straightforward sincerity*, in contrast with the double dealing of his opponents. His argument now takes this turn. The religion of spirit and life, eternal because perfect, 2 Cor. 3:11, has nothing to hide; the better it is known the more acceptable it will be; it is only the religion of written rules, and legal bondage, and fear, that needs a veil to cover its inherent defects.

3. But the treasure is in a fragile earthen vessel, and this may seem to detract from its fitness. Just the contrary. "I have," he says in effect, "earned the right to be regarded as the Apostle to the Gentiles by manifold sufferings endured in connection with my work." In the second epistle he urges this plea with such force and iteration, that the passages in which it recurs, 2 Cor. 4:7—5:10; 6:5-10; 11:23-33, rise to the dignity and grandeur of the greatest utterances to be found within the whole range of tragic poetry, and constitute together what might not unfitly be called the "Pauline Iliad."

The last four chapters of the second epistle are distinguished by a bitterly controversial tone. A probable explanation is that in the former part the apostle has in his view mainly the faithful majority in the Corinthian Church, while in the latter part he turns his attention to the minority by whose malign influence the others had temporarily been misled. These four chapters contain copious material bearing on all the three branches of Paul's argument in defence of his apostleship. To the first belongs 12:1-6; to the second, 10:12-18, where he lays stress on the *pioneering* character of his work, no less than on its extent; and to the third, over and above the long catalogue of woes, all the places in which Paul alludes to his refusal to receive from the church of Corinth any contributions toward his maintenance. His enemies were too selfish to understand the generous motives from which he acted, and insinuated that his collections for the poor in Palestine went into his own pocket, while he pretended to be very independent. If he were sure of his apostolic standing, would he not claim maintenance from his converts like the other apostles? This seems to be the sense of 2 Cor. 12:16-18.

This article continues Professor Bruce's thoughtful series on Paul's conception of Christianity. It contributes little toward the elucidation of this conception, because the doctrinal element in the letters to the Corinthian church is wholly subordinate to the apologetic. Of the latter the above article gives a masterly exposition.

P. A. N.

Notes and Opinions.

The First Storm.—Dean Chadwick contributes an article for the May *Expositor* on this incident (Matt. 8:23; Mark 4:35; Luke 8:22). Both Virgil and Isaiah dreamed of a perfect world that should be the environment of a restored humanity. The Old Testament has either foreseen or dreamed of a time when nature should obey man, when all things should be under his feet. If Jesus came to found the Kingdom of God, it is not unreasonable to expect some evidence of his mastery over the external world. The nature miracles of the gospels are far different from those of the Old Testament. Those of Moses were performed to show that Jehovah was God; those of Christ to introduce the seed that should grow secretly. "And they were true to their purpose. Signs and wonders were thrust upon Pharaoh, but Herod hoped in vain to see some miracle done by Jesus. Only to the few disciples in the boat was the stilling of the tempest an evidence at first hand, and for them it was not the laying bare of the bed of the lake, but the restoration of such conditions that their usual efforts could enable them to reach the shore. The nature miracles of Jesus are few; they are self-controlled almost to austerity. . . . Moreover, their ideal is exactly the ideal of the gospel. It is the restoration of nature from its convulsions, not the awaking of its dread powers against a foe. . . . His word is the same to nature as to souls; it is, 'Peace, be still.'"

T. H. R.

The Bible, the Standard of the Literature of Power.—Rev. A. A. Berle, of Brighton, Boston, writing in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, on "The Literature of the Religious feeling," has some very interesting words on the above subject. He instances among others "Faust," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Gladstone's speech on "Parliamentary Oaths," as illustrations of the literature of power. In all such literature "there is the awakened personality, not expressing itself in the formulas of the schools of logic, but in the common life and the common speech, embodying the whole of human nature in all its aspirations and in all its failures. . . . The Bible, more than all the remaining literature, has the healthy, sane feeling about it which makes for action and moral force. It alone gives the moral life with all its colorings. . . . This is the reason why it survives, the most powerful of the influences moving mankind in the world. And the mode by which it accomplishes this is in its alliance with the rational, enlightened feeling, sane and true to the ideal manhood, from which it has its source, always warm, always true, and always active. The Bible must then be always the model of the literature of power. It will be

the critic's privilege to endeavor to catch its warmth while bringing to it the widest learning and the most astute discernment. The heart of mankind is its ruling part, and he who speaks most effectively to the heart rules most certainly in life. . . Add to the Hellenic conception of beauty of form and warmth of feeling the Hebraistic balance of unswerving righteousness, and the result is a literature of power and religion, a Bible, a living word from the Almighty."

T. H. R.

Righteousness and Love.—It is a striking fact in the Book of Romans that whereas all through the course of the argument to the end of the eleventh chapter, the ruling conception is that of righteousness, at the twelfth chapter this conception gives place to that of love, which in turn rules the remaining chapters. Righteousness and love respectively are the two ideas that give their coloring to these two great divisions of the book. The Rev. Professor Richard Rothe, D.D., in the *Expository Times* for May, in an exposition of 1 John 3:9-12, brings out clearly the Johannine conception of the relation between righteousness and love. In treating of vs. 10, "Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother," he writes: "In his (John's) opinion, brotherly love and the doing of righteousness are identical. He cannot conceive of the doing of righteousness otherwise than as brotherly love. Brotherly love is the real kernel of Christian righteousness; the latter manifests itself in the former (Gal. 5:14; Col. 3:14); it is the fundamental demand of the Christian law of life (2:9-11; Rom. 13:8-10). We should not allow anything to pass with us for real righteousness that is not essentially brotherly love. However admirable in other respects any ethical act may be, if it is void of brotherly love it is not yet righteousness. The brotherly love spoken of here is such a love to one's neighbor as springs from the consciousness of the inner living kinship between us and him and from the natural impulse which is associated with this consciousness." T. H. R.

Aids to Interpretation. Many students of the English New Testament will, we are sure, welcome the *Suggestions for the Study of the English New Testament*, by Professor CHARLES HORSWELL, Ph.D., of the Garrett Biblical Institute. His little volume of 24 pages, published by Hunt and Eaton, New York, is intended specially for their use, and points out for them a way in which they may, in some measure, attain such results as are open to the student of the Greek Testament. One great obstacle in the way of such students has been that their ignorance of Greek has prevented their prosecuting any strictly inductive study of New Testament words, and at the same time shut them out from the use of the best results of the work of others in this direction, since these results were put forth in a Greek lexicon. Mr. Horswell meets this difficulty by referring to Vincent's *Word Studies*, which presents the results of the study of Greek words under an English vocabulary. To the excellent suggestion that the student read continuously, and again and

again, the entire book under study, might well have been added the recommendation that, after a few such readings, he begin the construction of an analysis of the book. There are few methods of study of the New Testament, especially of the New Testament Epistles, more fruitful and enlightening than the endeavor to trace the thought of the author from beginning to end, and to express the course of thought in an analysis. And this is a method of study in which the student of the English Bible is but little at a disadvantage as compared with the Greek scholar. It is a difficult method to teach by textbook, but we believe Mr. Horswell might well have given more prominence to it in his little book.

Almost simultaneously with this aid to students of the English New Testament appears a little book in which Professor Horswell joins his colleague, Professor Charles F. Bradley, D.D., in furnishing help to the student of the Greek Testament. Their *New Testament Word Lists*, second series, contains all words occurring from three to nine times. It is issued privately, and, like the first series, is sold at 35 cents a copy.

Another work of similar purpose is the *Vocabulary of New Testament Words, classified according to Roots, with statistics of usage by author*, prepared by Ozorn Stearns Davis, under the direction of Professor M. W. Jacobus, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, and published by the Hartford Seminary Press. The list is limited to words occurring in the New Testament more than ten times. Both these latter books aim to aid the student in acquiring what Professor Jacobus calls a workable vocabulary. Whether the acquisition of such a vocabulary is, as he maintains, the *chief* item in training the student into a helpful use of his Greek Testament is perhaps open to question. But there can be no doubt that it is an essential item in such training, and that, to some students at least, the memorizing of lists of words is a most helpful method of making this acquisition.

E. D. B.

"**Let us have Peace with God.**"—The Rev. Professor J. Agar Beet contributes for the April number of *The Thinker*, an exposition of the above passage from Rom. 5:1. The Authorized Version reads:—"We have peace with God." The American revisers prefer this form. The hortatory form, however, as given above, and as found in the Revision, has the support of the oldest manuscripts and is accepted in all recent critical editions of the Greek text:—by Tischendorf in his last edition, by Tregelles and by Westcott and Hort. Those who hold to the old rendering, notwithstanding the documentary evidence against it, may affirm that the hortatory form is inconsistent with the context. The thought of the preceding words, "being therefore justified by faith" involves the thought of peace with God. Justification and peace are equivalent terms. Every monarch is at peace with a pardoned criminal. It is incomprehensible, then, that the Apostle should exhort to that which is already possessed. Professor Beet upholds the reading of the Revision, and seeks a satisfactory exposition. He

calls attention to the fact that the construction of the Greek is the aorist participle (for the subordinate clause) with the subjunctive. "This implies that the abiding state of peace with God must be preceeded by the event of justification, and leaves the context to determine whether justification is already obtained, and is a reason for having peace with God, or whether justification by faith is the gateway by which we must enter the abiding state of peace with God." Professor Beet holds to the latter interpretation, and would render the passage thus:—"Let us then, justified thro' faith, have peace with God." This rendering implies an agreement with the use of the same Greek construction throughout the New Testament, (cf. 1 Cor. 6:15; Acts 15:36; Eph. 4:25; Heb. 6:1; Matt. 2:8; 4:9, etc.,) not that justification has already taken place, and is a reason for going on to a higher blessing, viz: peace with God, but that to the writer's thought, justification through faith is simply looked upon as a means by which we *may have peace with God*. Paul, though he himself has found this rest of faith, yet puts himself alongside the weaker ones among those to whom he writes, and claims along with them the peace with God that is the immediate result of justifying faith. Here, as in so many other passages he writes from an ideal and changing standpoint, leaving his own personal point of view, and identifying himself with those to whom he writes. With this interpretation it is possible to hold to the declarative forms of the following verses as given in the Authorized Version. "We rejoice in hope of the glory of God," and "we rejoice in our tribulation," vss. 2 and 3; cf. also v. 11.) This rendering he prefers to the hortatory form, the Greek allowing of either. We would add that the assumption made by those who object to the hortatory form, as well as by Professor Beet, viz:—that justification brings immediate peace, and that so the terms are in a manner equivalent, seems to us to be not true. Justification by faith is the necessary condition of peace, but is not necessarily immediately followed by peace. Christian experience teaches this. Paul is appealing here to those in the Roman church who have believed, have been justified, yet who have not yet the inward peace. He urges them to claim, to enjoy this peace which is their right. We prefer the subjective signification to the word *peace* here, not merely as allowed by the following phrase *πρὸς τὸν θεόν* but as better suited to the words that follow directly after, and to this point at which the Apostle has now arrived in his argument. This meaning seems to be Paul's thought, and although much weight should be attached to the usage of similar constructions in other New Testament passages, yet the greater weight should be given to the immediate context of the passage itself. We, ourselves, do not find difficulty with the ancient reading as translated by the revisers, believing it to be in accord with the trend of the thought of the Epistle, and with the immediate context. Professor Beet's article is full of valuable suggestions.

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

THE board of study at Cambridge has recommended the appointment of a lecturer in Aramaic.

REV. HIRAM BRIGHAM has lately seen the completion of the printing of the Bible in the language of the Gilbert Islands. The translation was begun in 1859.

A NARRATIVE of the two journeys of Mrs. Lewis to the Convent of Mt. Sinai, and of her discovery of the Syriac manuscript of the gospels, will soon be published.

THE discussion, now in progress, of the question whether the language of the Hittites is Semitic is likely to take on a new phase. Professor Jensen claims to have deciphered the Hittite texts, and to find the language Indo-European.

THE railroad from Jaffa to Jerusalem is but the beginning of railroad invasion of the Orient. The Syrian Ottoman Railway is now being built, extending from Haifa to Damascus. Soil was broken at the Haifa end, with appropriate ceremonies, some months ago.

THE Bodleian Library has lately obtained five parchment leaves of Palestinian Syriac, one of which is a fragment of Numbers, all the others of the Pauline epistles. These are of interest as being, except a fragment of Galatians, the only extant portions of the Palestinian versions of Pauline epistles.

PROFESSOR SAYCE, writing from Egypt, announces that he thinks he has discovered the site in Upper Egypt where British soldiers were encamped in the days of the Roman Empire. The mutations of history are singular. British soldiers again hold Upper Egypt in check, but now the seat of authority is removed from the Tiber to the Thames.

A NEW volume of the late Bishop Lightfoot's papers, entitled *Biblical Miscellanies*, is soon to be published. Another work to be out soon is *A Short Proof that Greek Was the Language of Christ*, by Professor Roberts. Three posthumous works by Professor Hort will also be brought out by Macmillan: his Hulsean Lectures, Lectures on Judaic Christianity, and Lectures on Romans and Ephesians.

ON May 7 Dr. Martineau, at the University Hall Settlement, delivered a lecture on the Gospel of Peter. He placed the date at 130 A. D. He argues that Justin Martyr used this document, and that its discrediting and final dis-

appearance was due to the heresy involved in the phrase, "He kept silence, feeling no pain." Dr. Martineau holds that the fragment is based on sources independent of our gospels.

PROFESSOR SAYCE declares that the so-called Phoenician inscription, lately discovered near Jaffa, is a forgery. Sidonian forms of characters of the fifth century B. C. are mixed with Moabite forms of the ninth century B. C. One character is used which does not exist in Phoenician. The name of King Mesha is copied from the Moabite Stone, but in such a way as shows the forger did not understand its meaning. The forgery is not even a skilful one.

A MEMORIAL to Professor Hort has been proposed, part of which is to provide for a fund in Cambridge for the encouragement of theological science. It is proposed that the fund assist scholars to collate manuscripts in foreign libraries, for the preparation of a critical edition of the early Fathers; to do the same for cursive manuscripts in Eastern libraries, for the larger edition of the Septuagint; and to reproduce a photographic facsimile of the Codex Bezae in the Cambridge Library.

THE excavations at Tel el Hesy, the ancient Lachish, are still carried on as before, under the charge of Mr. T. J. Bliss. The chief find of interest lately has been a furnace containing iron slag, which can hardly be other than a primitive blast-furnace. Its date is put from 1400 to 1500 B. C., four to five hundred years earlier than iron implements were found in the mound. Mr. Bliss raises the question, if early iron implements have not been destroyed by rust, while bronze implements of the same date remained intact.

A CRITICAL edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament will be the product of an international effort under the editorship of Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University. It is to be accompanied, in separate volumes, by German and English translations. Both text and translations will be given, with critical notes, those in the translation being mainly historical and archaeological. The text of Job, prepared by Professor Siegfried, is now out. The others are expected to follow rapidly. This edition will contain more and better arranged textual material than any edition yet published.

SCARCELY has the new Syriac manuscript of the gospels been announced to the public than follows the death of one of the scholars who were engaged in its transcription, Professor R. L. Bensley, of Cambridge. He was well-known as a Hebrew and Syriac scholar. For a time he held in Cambridge the readership of Arabic. He had published little, the most important being a treatise on the Latin fragment of Fourth Ezra. His health failing, he went to Cairo last winter, devoting himself to a study of manuscripts from the libraries of that city. He also accompanied Professor Harris to the Convent of St. Catharine at Mt. Sinai, and assisted in transcribing the manuscript of the newly-found Syriac gospels. Professor Bensley, in addition to his work of

teaching, had charge of the Oriental books of the Cambridge library, and gave much time to library work.

HERR BAURATH SCHICK, the well-known architect, a resident at Jerusalem, has a long letter in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for April, 1893, on the site of Calvary. The letter is largely a personal narrative of his years of work on this problem of Jerusalem topography. From 1846, when he first became familiar with the problem, to 1883, he believed, though he was conscious that he did not hold the proofs, that the traditional site, that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was wrong. In 1883, excavations near the church proved, as he believed, that the ancient second wall ran just south of the present church, leaving the traditional mound of Calvary to the north. This led him to believe that the traditional site of Calvary was *very likely*, not of course certainly, the true site. This position he still holds, though most Protestant scholars place the true site at one or another place north of the present city. It may be a question, however, whether Herr Schick's arguments may not finally win. In the beginning of his letter he says, regarding the whole question, "I have never considered this matter of such great importance, as though our salvation depended upon it, but am rather convinced that the Lord has so ruled that there should always be some uncertainty about it."

Comparative Religion Notes.

THE long-expected work of Dr. L. H. Mills, the Oxford Zend scholar, on the Gathas of Zoroaster, is issuing from the press of Brockhaus of Leipzig. He has already published a translation of them into English in the "Sacred Books of the East," and this new work, with its text, versions and commentary, will be a justification of the former as well as a contribution to the scientific knowledge of these extremely difficult writings, the oldest portion of the Avesta.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* of June, 1893, Lanciani gives some results of recent investigations into the age and character of the Pantheon at Rome, which has been the sphynx of Roman buildings from the archæologist's standpoint. He announces that the building as it stands at present is the work not of Agrippa whose name it bears, but of Hadrian, to whom we owe so many of Rome's most beautiful religious structures.

TO ALL interested in the practical effects of religious systems, any good work on the condition of the Buddhist country north of India is acceptable. *Where Three Empires Meet*, by E. F. Knight, is such a book, not only by reason of its general description of Ladak, but on account of its description of the sacred dances and ceremonies, very seldom given, of the annual festival at a monastery. It is a contribution to the comparative study of religious rites that is valuable, both because of its rarity and its intrinsic interest.

I. F. W.

A striking testimony to the value of the study of Comparative Religion from a source which ordinarily has not been regarded as prejudiced in favor of the new science is given in a work recently published in England, entitled *Religion and Myth*. Its author is the Rev. James MacDonald, long a resident and missionary in Africa. He concludes his book with the following statement: "*The church that first adopts for her intending missionaries the study of Comparative Religion as a substitute for subjects now taught will lead the van in the path of true progress.*"

A COLLECTION of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts has been discovered near Yurkand. The collection is known as the Weber Manuscripts, from the discoverer, a Moravian missionary. The collection consists of an astronomical treatise, a hymn in honor of Pravati, the wife of Siva, and a Sanskrit vocabulary. The longest document, which is much mutilated, is in an unknown language. The thing in this collection which will probably be of most interest to

the student of religion is the hymn. Whether, however, it will add anything of value to the already large hymn literature of the Sanskrit is a question, which cannot be answered till the manuscripts are published. I. F. W.

MUCH interest has been aroused by the discovery and investigation of ruined buildings on the east coast of Africa, in Mashonaland, which are of a type neither Mohammedan, Christian nor African. Mr. Bent has made a careful study of them and published his results in a book entitled *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*. He holds them to have been constructed by merchants of Semitic race, probably from heathen Arabia, and dating from pre-Mohammedan, perhaps pre-Christian, times. The predominance of phallic emblems among the objects found is remarkable. The Himyarites, who traded in more northerly regions, especially at Axoum, are thought to be responsible for some of these structures. The conclusions of Mr. Bent, if established by more careful and detailed investigation, will be of much importance in the question of the Semitic influence upon the African races and religions.

DURING the past year, 1892-'93, the courses given in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago have been largely devoted to the subject of the Semitic Religions. A course of lectures was given upon the Religion of Egypt and that of Babylonia and Assyria. A special study was given to the theories of Professor W. Robertson Smith respecting the Religion of the Semites. Later in the year these general studies were supplemented by a "seminary" course upon the Religious Texts of Babylonia and Assyria, including the material from Tello and the Magical texts, the Hymns and the so-called Penitential Psalms, with partial consideration of the Religious Epics. For the following year, 1893-'94, the Aryan religions will receive special attention in the department. Courses are offered as follows: Autumn Quarter, the Religions of India, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Hinduism; Spring Quarter, the Religions of Greece, Rome and Northern Europe; Winter Quarter, the Religions of China, and, in connection with them, the study of the Religions of Non-civilized Peoples; Summer Quarter, Islam. In addition to this work offered by the department of Comparative Religion, other courses on the Philosophy of Religion and upon special aspects and fields of the various religions will be given in other departments of the University.

THE question of human sacrifice in the religion of ancient Babylonia is reopened by Mr. C. J. Ball in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for February, 1893. He describes a cylinder of black basalt which is by him dated between 2000-2500 B. C. In this cylinder representation "the God stands with one foot on the lowest, the other on the highest, step of a gradiform pyramid. This is doubtless a temple. In his right hand he holds a short recurved sword, and in his left a scepter. Flames rise from his arms. Behind him is an altar, with cereal offerings. In front are two figures,

wearing the priestly leopard skin. Their arms are raised, as if to strike. With the left hand one holds back the head, while the other holds up the beard of a man who kneels on one knee between the two. They are aiming a clear stroke at the throat. The victim wears only cap and loin-cloth. Flames are above; on the right a vulture is flying toward him, and on the left an antelope is leaping away from him." This conclusion of Mr. Ball must be accepted with great caution. No clear statement substantiating the practice of human sacrifice has been found in the Babylonian religious literature of the date to which this cylinder is assigned. At any rate, it will not do to build on this case a theory as to the frequency of such sacrifices in ancient Babylonia.

IN AN article upon "The Ceremonial Uses of Tobacco," Mr. J. Hawkins has collected in the *Popular Science Monthly* (June, 1893) a large number of examples of the employment of tobacco for religious purposes among the North American aborigines. His conclusions are that tobacco smoking was originally practiced by the medicine men or priests as a potent means of communication with the unseen spirits. Tobacco was the most powerful narcotic stimulant they possessed. In the dreams and stupor which it engendered came the desired divine communications. But, in course of time, conjectures our writer, the valued herb passed out of the hands of the priest and soothsayer into common possession of the people, a result facilitated, perhaps, by its use by the priests in curing diseases. Now it was the Indian's most prized possession, and therefore came to be an acceptable sacrifice to the spirits. Tobacco offerings are among the most important of all Indian offerings. It is a sacred plant; its use is necessary in times of treaty making and compacts of a binding character. The development of the various stages in the employment of tobacco for religious purposes among these peoples is very interesting. It is not certain that Mr. Hawkins has traced these successfully. Some criticisms might be made upon his views. But it seems that one thing is quite certain, viz., that the original use of tobacco was religious, and that only gradually, if ever, did it lose its sacred character. Whether it was originally in the hands of the medicine man and passed from him to the tribesmen at large is open to question.

IN THIS connection it is interesting to observe that the June number of the journal just referred to contains at least five articles which deal with subjects related to Comparative Religion. This is in a journal of popular science. People's beliefs about relations to an unseen and higher world are thought worthy of presentation and discussion in a scientific periodical. The fact may be placed in juxtaposition with a favorite idea of some that religion is falling before science, a point of view which Mr. John Burroughs takes in the *North American Review*, and from it proceeds to read a lesson to religion (he says "theology") on the futility of its attempt to exist. It is, perhaps, a more excellent way to study with the former periodical the facts which religion pre-

sents in its lowest and highest forms, to ask their meaning and the underlying reality to which they testify, the strivings and aspirations of the soul which they embody, the ideal future to which they point. With this purpose, which is one element in the comparative study of religions, the oldest and the sternest creed, the most superstitious belief and the most grotesque custom, as well as the highly organized and refined forms of modern religious life, are full of meaning and instruction. One lesson to be drawn from them may be this—that religion is as indestructible as any other element in the universe and the heart of man. One service which the science of Comparative Religion may hope to do for man is to make this clear beyond all doubt, and also to reveal the unity of religion in its many forms and in its progress under Divine Providence, revealed in the history of humanity.

AN illustration of the absolute necessity of taking the standpoint of the religious and moral system to be interpreted is given by Mr. De Forest in his exposition of Confucian ethics as seen in Japan (*Andover Review*, May–June, 1893). It is well-known that the Ethical Code which is wrought into the fabric of Japanese society is the Confucian law of the "For Relations." These relations are stated in words difficult to translate into English because of the utter difference of ethical outlook. Mr. De Forest gives them in the following words: "Sovereign and Minister" (including, indeed, also "lord and retainer," "master and servant"), "Father and Son," "Husband and Wife," "Elder and Younger Brothers," and "Friends." The statement of these relations, their order and intension, speaks volumes as to the practical ethics of Confucianism. All through society the preëminent virtue is loyalty. Loyalty is synonymous with righteousness. Society, indeed, is arranged vertically, not horizontally. The upper grades are to be reverenced and obeyed by the lower, even unto death. The lower grades are looked upon with benevolence and love by the upper. Hence, in religion God is to be reverenced. To love him is not seemly. The family means not primarily husband and wife, but father and son. Filial piety is obedience, reverence, care for the dead parents. Wifely virtue is along the same lines, as also brotherly love. There is no word for the idea of "brother" or "sister" merely, but only for "elder" or "younger" brother or sister. Friendship was limited and interpreted by the same notion. Different grades of society could hardly entertain friendship, nor could the foreigner be included. Such was the moral code of millions in Japan. It is being slowly but surely undermined by Western ideas introduced by Christianity. One can but hope that the issue of the conflict between the old and the new will be a practice on a higher plane than either.

THE work of the American School of Athens last year was carried on principally at Argos, and was rewarded by discoveries which, according to Mr. Waldstein, writing in the *Century*, June 1893, may bear comparison to the work of the Germans at Olympia and to Schliemann's excavations among the ruins of Troy, Mycene and Tiryns. The temple of Hera at Argos was one

of the most famous of ancient Greek sacred places. The images of Hera found in the excavation of this temple constitute an epitome of the development of the worship of this goddess. Rude images of her were found in which the face looks more like that of a bird than of a human being. A second series, though still rude, shows indications of a head with some pretensions to humanity in form. A third group represents the form and face, if not with beauty, still with distinctness of meaning. Yet another head was found in the finest style of Greek art, life-sized and undoubtedly an original work of the time of Pheidias and Polykleitos, manifesting the touch of a great master. From this series of images it is seen that Hera was in earliest times worshipped in an image, or rather a symbol, which had no likeness to a human figure. It is said that a pole was her symbol at Argos, and perhaps this, too, has been unearthed by the American excavators. Mr. Waldstein thinks it "highly probable." At Samos Hera's image in the earliest times was a simple board, and we are told that this board was superseded by an image having human shape which Prokles brought from Argolis. Thus at Argos Hera was worshipped in a human form before 1000 B.C. From this time to the period of the beautiful head just discovered, Greek art was relieving itself from convention. Especially at Argos, under Polykleitos, was the ideal Hera conceived and wrought out. This artist produced the most famous statue of her in all antiquity. The Hera which the American explorers have discovered is a worthy representative of this high artistic power which bodied forth the sublimest conceptions of the ancient Greek religious thought.

No problem of ancient religious history has excited more interest in those who have investigated the subject than the religious movement in Egypt, known as the "Sun disc heresy." The author of that reformation was Amenhotep IV., or "Chuenaten," as he styled himself. The puzzling and apparently contradictory facts relating to him, the darkness in which many phases of the movement still lie buried, and the new light thrown upon the political and social life of the times by the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, part of the royal diplomatic archives of this king and his predecessors, all unite to deepen the mystery and intensify the interest. One class of scholars explain the movement as the result of Semitic influences on the Royal house. This view is especially dear to Professor Sayce, and is urged by him without a shadow of doubt as to its being the sufficient explanation. Another class urge the facts which show non-Semitic influence, and find in the religious condition of Egypt itself satisfactory explanation of the reformation. Both classes seem agreed as to the character of Chuenaten, dwelling on his physical defects and calling him a fanatic, or a weak-minded, visionary enthusiast. This view of his character is puzzling when one attempts to reconcile it with the literary remains of the new religious movement which are simple and lofty in their conceptions of the Deity, neither extravagant nor commonplace. And now Mr. Petrie has found in the ruins at Tel-el-Amarna the *death mask*

of the reforming king. It shows a "face which is full of character. There is no trace of passion in it; but a philosophical calm with great obstinacy and impracticability. He was no vigorous fanatic, but rather a high-bred theorist and reformer; not a Cromwell, but a Mill." This may be a conclusion somewhat too highly touched with imagination to satisfy a scientific student, but certainly the new "find" counts distinctly in favor of the royal leader, whose character and motives as a religious reformer have been so harshly judged.

IN his recent book on the sect of the Yezidiz, M. Menant has gathered up the results of travelers' observations and the conclusions of scholars respecting these curious and mysterious "worshippers of the devil," whose home is in the mountain valleys north and west of Mesopotamia. One cannot say that he has added much, if anything, to the already existing stock of information, or illuminated the mysteries of their cult. But he has helped to overthrow misconceptions which have grown up respecting their beliefs and practices. They have been accused of all sorts of debased superstitions and the practice of degrading rites. But Layard, who visited them, could find no trace of the latter, though he seems to have had excellent opportunities for observation. It appears that they believe in the existence of a supreme being of essential benevolence. They offer him no sacrifices. They do not approach him with prayers, and avoid making him the subject of conversation. They regard the evil one with equal reverence. His name is never pronounced, and an allusion to him is received by them with irritation. But, if pressed, they declare that they do not offer him worship, but reverence him as a fallen angel, who is to be restored in due time. They have a sanctuary, where stated festivals are held, priests perform sacred dances, and hymns are sung. They have no sacred books, but have great veneration for the Old Testament, while they do not reject the New Testament or the Quran. They believe in transmigration of souls. They have a spiritual and temporal hierarchy, a religious head and a political head, with grades of officials corresponding. One cannot comprehend the intensity of their attachment to this extraordinary mixture of beliefs, associated with Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, Islam and Christianity, yet they have suffered fearful persecutions from the Turkish authorities for their fidelity to it. Menant notices a curious fact. "They have shown themselves sufficiently enlightened to understand that every people has a right to worship God in its own way, and they have built out of their scanty resources a church for the Christians of Armenia. The 'worshippers of the Devil' have reared a Christian temple."

WHAT is the essence of Egyptian religion? Is it a system of lofty and pure ideas respecting the Deity which was preserved in priestly circles? Is its outward form only an accommodation to the necessities of the populace through a symbolism which, however crudely grasped by the mass, was to the initiated the veil of the sublimer conceptions? Such was the view of the earlier-

school of Egyptologists, which included such famous scholars as Chabas and E. de Rougé. Their conclusions still dominate much that is written to-day on the subject. A similar position is held by Dr. Brugsch, whose magic word for solving all puzzles is "pantheism." M. Maspero, the eminent French scholar, tells us in a recent volume of collected essays and memoirs on Egyptian mythology and archæology, that he, too, began following in the path marked out by the scholars above referred to, believing in the unity of the Egyptian God, his spirituality, and the sublimity of the priestly doctrine. But direct contact with the monuments disabused his mind of this Egyptian faith. He was compelled to acknowledge that the Egyptians themselves do not seem to have professed or even suspected the majority of these fine conceptions which had been so generously assigned to them. He grants that one may well feel astonished, even scandalized, at the fate of that ancient Egyptian wisdom in his hands, but he declares that time and further investigation have only substantiated his conclusions. The beautiful theories of the sublime religious mysteries of the Egyptian religion, with their influence on Israel and Greece, have received their death-blow through a fuller knowledge and a more scientific investigation of the facts. The theory which M. Maspero has substituted for its predecessor may prove in its details to need amendment, but its essential contention will stand the test: Egyptian religion, or better, religions, were polytheistic and imbued with material elements. Struggle as they might to rise out of the sphere, they never succeeded in separating themselves from the antecedents and elements of their origin. Priestly meditation struck out isolated fragments of higher conceptions and there was a general movement of thought in Egypt as in all ancient nations toward a separation of religion from nature and toward a unity in the supreme religious object, but in Egypt this movement had even less influence on religious life than in the other nations.

THE conflict of Christianity with the Paganism which opposed its progress in the Roman Empire is ordinarily supposed to cease with Constantine. Really it only enters upon a second stage, and three centuries more pass before paganism gives over the struggle. Then, indeed, a third stage is ushered in when the conquered paganism, in many places and many forms, passes into and modifies the faith to which it has yielded. It is the paganizing of Christianity, succeeding to the Christianization of paganism. All this process is profoundly interesting, not merely to the ecclesiastical historian, but to the student of the history of religion in general. M. J. Reville, in the French *Review of Religious History*, calls attention to two recent works on this subject, concerned especially with the second of the stages above referred to. The first is *Le fin du paganisme*, by M. Gaston Boissier; the second, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch - römischen Heidentums*, by Professor Victor Schultze. Boissier's book deals with his theme as it is developed and illustrated in the great, the typical, men of the time and disclosed in the litera-

ture. Schultze, on the other hand, examines the relations of the two religions as they reveal themselves in law, in local politics, in the popular life. He has examined province after province of the Empire and traced with careful hand the disappearance or abandonment of the places for worship, the costumes, the rites and the practices of paganism. Schultze's conclusions are interesting and are summed up under three heads: (1) The legislation against paganism was theoretically severe, but its application was variable. The government was lax in carrying out the laws; the church was naturally less tolerant. (2) The conflict was violent only in the smaller towns and the country-side. These were less under the influence of the Graeco-Roman civilization, and also the magistrates clung with more persistence to their religious dignities and functions inherited from paganism. As for the country-side, the episcopal system worked in favor of the cities and to the neglect of the evangelization of those outside. (3) The local paganisms where the religions of Greece and Rome and their civilization had not gained much influence were the most strenuous opponents of Christianity. It is striking that the most difficult of all to overcome were the *Semitic* cults. Christianity fiercely fought the immoralities connected with these Oriental religions, while their adherents clung to them with a fidelity which withstood the most fiery zeal of the assailants.

Book Reviews.

A Map of Egypt. A New Map of Egypt and the Sinaitic Peninsula. Edited by PROFESSOR H. S. OSBORN, LL.D. Revised to March, 1893. Oxford, Ohio: Oxford Map Publishers. Size, 5 ft. square. Price \$5.00.

The Oxford maps edited by Professor Osborn are well known. The publishers claim for this new map of Egypt that "great care has been taken to collate all that has previously been done in various surveys, some of which have been made of only limited parts of Egypt and the Peninsula," and that it "presents all the sites and names of the ancient Egyptian as well as the Greek and Roman cities, temples and important tombs of Egypt. No other map contains the recent discoveries so fully and accurately placed. Bädeker's last map misplaces Naucratis, Pithom and Sukkoth. Murray is much more inaccurate and other maps are far behind. In this map Dr. Osborn has brought up all discovery to present time. The modern geography is very complete and will be of service to the student since the growing interest in Egypt, and frequent references to the Peninsula, may bring obscure towns into prominent notice, as has already happened. The colored representation of the physical geography is interesting and very important and the notes by the editor will be found to be of great service to all who may become interested in this wonderful 'land.'

One special commendatory feature of the map is the vividness with which it portrays the antithesis between Egypt with its narrow ribbon of green and fertile soil, and the surrounding desert, as well as the skill with which the entire length of the land is shown upon the map. Many students will gain from it a new conception of Egypt and Egyptian life. It is a pity, however, that the route of the Israelites at the Exodus is traced only on the basis of the old theory which holds that the passage of the Red Sea was made not in the vicinity of the Bitter Lakes, not even at Suez, but where the channel is a mile wide. Apart from the utter absurdity of such a view, a map of this kind should present the various routes which divide the learned world relative to the Exodus, and not confine itself to the one theory which the editor himself may favor. Impartiality, if demanded anywhere, is surely demanded in a map.

G. S. G.

A New Testament Lexicon; A Compendious Book of Reference. By BERTHOLD KUHNE.

Students of the Greek New Testament who are acquainted with German may derive much help from an unpretending little book which has just

appeared from the pen of Berthold Kuhne, entitled, "New Testament Lexicon, a Compendious Book of Reference." It includes all the words in the New Testament with the exception of proper names, and gives wherever necessary divergent significations. References are of course not supplied. The most remarkable feature is the great attention paid to the history of the language. Greek is divided into three periods : (a) Attic, down to 330 B. C.; (b) Macedono-Alexandrian, from 330 B. C. to 160 B. C.; (c) Roman, from 160 B. C. to the age of the New Testament. The prose and poetry of each of these periods is represented by a separate symbol. Another set of symbols refers exclusively to Hellenistic Greek ; one indicating that a word occurs first in the Septuagint, another that it occurs first in the Greek Apocrypha, a third that it occurs first in the New Testament, and a fourth that it occurs only in the New Testament. It is possible in this way to compress a considerable amount of information concerning a word into a line or two, or even into a few words. The statement, for instance, that *hagiazo* means to hallow and first occurs in the Septuagint, occupies one short line consisting of two words and an abbreviation. One line also states that *daimonizomai* is found in Attic poetry and Roman prose, and means "I am possessed." In some cases, for example, *eimi*, "to be" and the preposition *en*, material which could easily be spread over pages is condensed into a few lines. So the student who wishes to master the main facts in the history of a word, or to refresh his memory, can get what he wants with very little loss of time by means of this apparently insignificant but in reality very learned book. Its value is increased by frequent references to Hebrew and Aramaic words and constructions. Still, the work must be used with caution. It is surprising to find the profound phrase "*en Christo*" explained as merely an instrumental dative, and therefore meaning no more than "as a Christian."

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Expositor's Bible: the Psalms. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D., Manchester, England. Vol. I. Psalms i.-xxxviii. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Chicago: American Baptist Publication Society. 1893. Pp. viii and 385. Price, \$1.50.

The Psalter is the richest mine of the Old Testament. It has been worked by more authors than any other portion of the Old Revelation, and to every diligent student it yields new and fresh material. Its wealth is boundless, and it always yields the richest of ores.

Dr. MacLaren, departing from the usual method in providing the volumes of this series, has presented us a new translation of each one of the Psalms discussed in this volume. He has apparently made a careful study of the Hebrew text, together with the principal commentators who have written on the Psalms. He has not neglected either the readings of the Septuagint, Syriac or Vulgate versions. Even the church fathers who took up this book and did anything like exhaustive work have not been neglected by our author.

On the basis of the Hebrew text he gives us a careful revision, or rather translation, of thirty-eight Psalms. Where they are arranged in alphabetical acrostics in the original he has almost uniformly indicated this in his translation, inserting the Hebrew letter in parenthesis immediately following the numberings of the verses. The strophical arrangement of the Psalms is also presented as well as the poetical form.

In the examination of some of the best Psalms it is evident that he strove to preserve, as nearly as possible, the exact meaning of the original. If any criticism were made upon his translations it would be that some of his expressions appear in slightly stiff and formal, rather than in smooth-flowing English, such as we should expect from his pen. But, as a whole, the translations are admirable, and will commend themselves to any student of the Hebrew. The superscriptions are regarded as of some value, though the author does not slavishly follow them. He does not dogmatically assert in many places his opinion on the authorship of the Psalm. He does not, in fact, go as far as the facts warrant, being apparently rather overawed by views of the Psalter which are just now obtaining such currency in the public press.

His expositions are very meaty. They abound in epigrammatic expressions, in proverbial contrasts and comparisons, parallels and suggestive imagery, and everything which would tend to fasten the mind of the reader upon the one principal thought under survey. Some of his expositions are models of their kind, and would many times repay the study of anyone who desires to make a success of expository preaching. The volume is to be highly commended in almost every feature as being a most useful addendum to the apparatus for the study of the Psalter.

PRICE.

The Pulpit Commentary: Ezekiel. Two volumes. Introduction by Rev. T. . WHITELAW, D.D. Exposition by the Very Rev. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D., Dean of Wells. Homiletics by the Rev. Professor W. F. ADENEY, M.A., and Homilies by various authors. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Vol. I. Pp. xxxiii and 403. Vol. II. Pp. 490.

This is one of the series published under the care of the Very Rev. H. D. M. Spence, D.D., and the Rev. J. S. Exell, M.A., with introductions by various authors. As so many books issued at the present day, it is not dated. A book with no date deserves suspicion. In scanning the literature on page 33 I find one work referred to with a date of 1890. Supposedly it has appeared since that date. It contains (1) an elaborate introduction on the life, times, mission and character of the Prophet Ezekiel; (2) on the arrangement and contents, the composition, collection and canonicity, the style and literary characteristics of the book itself. With all the fulness of its statements one cannot but note that the author made a slip on the historical matter discussed on page iii; he speaks of the captive Israelites as being carried away "by

Shalmaneser or Sargon." On page v he confuses the first captivity of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar with the second, in which Jehoiakim was disposed of. Other slight inaccuracies of that kind mar but do not invalidate the general discussion. Quite an interesting comparison is found on page xxv between the Pentateuch and the different chapters of Ezekiel, which shows their community of thought and expression. In the body of the commentary we find the text missing. Probably this is largely a matter of taste, but it is always more convenient for the reader to have a book as near complete as possible. If the text had been inserted at the tops of the pages one could readily have used each volume by itself without the multiplying of books before him. The verses are taken up one by one, and the chief views of the leading scholars are cited, from Origen down to Knabenbauer, of Paris. The exposition is more accurate than the introduction in reference to its historical background and facts, and employs apparently most of the information available down to within a few years. The homiletics and homilies are generally very sensible and rational expositions of the spiritual thought of the passages, and not, as in some earlier commentaries, an entire spiritualizing and allegorizing of the events. These volumes on Ezekiel are quite commendable, and, with care on the part of the student, will serve a valuable purpose in giving the thought of this very logical writer among the late prophets.

The peculiar difficulties of the last nine chapter of Ezekiel have faced every expositor. But Dr. Plumptre takes hold of the exposition with a master hand, and sees in it probably its true meaning, and does not confuse but rather elucidates what has been a source of confusion and mystification to many Bible students. Few other books have done more for Ezekiel than is done by these two volumes, and no other work has so carefully brought out the real spiritual and moral teachings of this great prophet. PRICE.

Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges. By S. OETTLI (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Kommentar*).

The "Compendious Commentary" on the whole Bible, edited by Strack and Zöckler, some earlier volumes of which are well known to most students, is rapidly approaching completion. The new division leaves only the last few chapters of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers for the two parts yet to be issued. Professor Oettli, of Berne, who is already widely known as an extensive contributor to this series, has produced a good book on the lines with which readers of Orelli's Isaiah and Jeremiah are familiar. His standpoint is modern, but not "advanced." In regard to the origin of the Pentateuch he comes much nearer to Dillmann than to Wellhausen and his school. Each book is prefaced by a careful introduction. That on Deuteronomy, and also in some measure that on Joshua, have been written under considerable disadvantages, owing to the circumstance that the remainder of the Hexateuch is in the hands of Professor Strack, with whose opinions in detail Pro-

fessor Oettli is unacquainted. That these writings, which all admit to be closely connected, have been assigned to two scholars, each working independently of the other, and that the introduction to the whole Pentateuch follows the exposition instead of preceding it, are features of arrangement which cannot be commended. The most interesting results arrived at in the introduction to Deuteronomy, which comprises more than twenty closely printed pages, are the following: The whole of the first twenty-six chapters, with the exception of 1:1-5 and a few editorial alterations, and some portions of the remainder, especially the greater part of chapters 28, 29 and 30, are assigned to one writer who was acquainted with JE, and with the priestly laws recorded in P. Whether the latter lay before him in its present form is pronounced an open question. The Song of Moses and the Blessing of Moses (32 and 33) were probably taken from JE. The account of the death of Moses, with which the book closes, is thought to have been compiled from three sources, found respectively in JE, D, and P. D (or Dt) may have been written before the time of Hezekiah. The view of some critics, that it ought to be classed with the Pseudepigrapha, if its Mosaic origin is denied, is strenuously combated. The whole book, as we have it, bears traces of editorial revision. There are, indeed, for our author, indications of seven elements: J, E, D, P, editorial revision in connection with P, editorial revision which may be designated by R, and later additions. It had been purposed to represent these elements by the use of different kinds of type, in accordance with the method adopted by Professor Strack in his translation of Genesis in this series, part of which has already appeared; but the attempt was wisely abandoned on account of "the intolerably speckled appearance" which the pages in that case would have exhibited. The Book of Joshua is believed, as the use of the term Hexateuch implies, to have been drawn from the same sources as the Pentateuch. Its contents are distributed in tabular form between JE, P, and an editor influenced by D. P is represented mainly after chapter 11. The Deuteronomistic editor is supposed to have contributed chapters 1 and 23, and a number of short passages in different parts of the book. The rest, which is ascribed to JE, comprises the greater part of 2-11 and 24, and nearly fifty verses from the remaining chapters. The Book of Judges, which consists of an introduction, 1:1-2:5, the histories of several judges, 2:6-16:31, embodying some very ancient materials, and two appendices in 17-21, was arranged in its present form by an editor who may have completed his work in the latter half of the eighth century B. C. No certain traces of JE can be detected. The very difficult question of the chronology of Judges is minutely discussed, but, as could only be expected, without any decisive result. The dates supplied by the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments have thus far, in Dr. Oettli's judgment—and many will agree with him—complicated the problem instead of simplifying it. In reference to the historical value of the books of Joshua and Judges, the attitude of this commentary is conservative. The narratives are accepted as in the main his-

torical, although the possibility of legendary touches and exaggerated numbers is admitted at least so far as Judges is concerned. The description of Samson's exploit with the jaw bone, for instance, is regarded as influenced by legend. Jephtha's vow is taken literally, great stress being laid on the evidence of Josephus and the Targum. The value of the volume is greatly enhanced by an excellent map by Guthe and Fischer, which has been brought down to date so completely as to include the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Introduction to the Old Testament. By Dr. EDWARD KÖNIG. (Sammlung theologischer Handbücher). Bonn : Ed. Weber. Marks 11.

Another of those elaborate and comprehensive introductions, in which German scholarship has thus far maintained its supremacy, has just appeared as the first of a series of Theological Handbooks, the list of future contributors to which includes Professor Orelli, Professor Buhl and Professor Paul Ewald. The author is Dr. König, of Rostock, who is already known to scholars through his work *On the Idea of Revelation as applied to the Old Testament*, and his two books dealing more or less with the Pentateuchal question, entitled respectively : *False Extremes* (1885) and *Main Problems* (1884). As might be expected from these writings, Dr. König has produced a work characterised by great learning and rare moderation. The discussion of the Pentateuchal problem, to which many readers will first turn, is very elaborate, comprising more than one hundred pages. The term Hexateuch is rejected, as there is no positive evidence for the incorporation of the Book of Joshua with the Pentateuch. As regards the origin and structure of the latter, Dr. König agrees with most modern critics in recognizing three elements, but differs from the most advanced school in finding a Mosaic basis of considerable extent, and in assigning earlier dates to the later documents. The oldest of these records, JE, or the Jehovahist, is assigned to a period comparatively near the Exodus. E, or the Elohist, to which, with Dillmann and Kittel, Dr. König attributes the priority, is referred to the period of the Judges. This conclusion is said to be positively indicated by the preference for Elohim, which the evidence of proper names shows to have existed in the period named, and by the expression "mamlekheth kohanim" (found in the Pentateuch only in Exodus 19:6), which, it is argued, could not have originated in any other epoch. The limits of E are not defined. J, the Jehovahist, cannot have been written before the days of David, as the testimony of proper names indicates that "Jehovah" did not come into general use until then ; and it is not necessary to put it after the time of Solomon. The later limit, however, is not so confidently asserted. JE, therefore, as a whole, may have been completed about four centuries before the captivity, and its earlier portion may have been compiled three centuries before the time suggested by Wellhausen. It is admitted that JE is not quite free from glosses, but it is maintained that these are fewer than some have supposed. D, or most of Deuteronomy,

namely, ch. 4:45-49 (mainly); chs. 5-26; 28 (at least as far as vs. 46); 31:9-13 is referred to an earlier time than that to which many assign it. In its present form it was probably composed by some member of the Jerusalem priesthood soon after the fall of the northern kingdom, that is, about a century before the discovery of the Book of the Law by Hilkiah. The warning against worshiping "the host of heaven," (17:3) is thought to point to the Assyrian period. The other parts of the book, indicated by the symbol Dst, seem to be closely related to D in form and ideas. The remaining element, the priestly code denoted by the letters EP, is ascribed to the period of the Exile. In determining its limits, Dr. König agrees in the main with the results of modern criticism as stated by Canon Driver, but deviates in a considerable number of details. He cannot, to give two examples, find any trace of EP in the fourteenth of Exodus, but credits it with the mention of the first sending out of the dove after the flood (Gen. 8: 8, 9) which some assign to JE. All these documents are supposed to have a Mosaic basis. JE and D are believed to embody very ancient written records, some of which are even pre-Mosaic; and EP preserves a multitude of very old traditions, handed down orally from age to age in priestly circles. The Mosaic elements, of course, include the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue. The presence of pre-Mosaic materials is thought necessary to explain several phenomena in the narrative of Genesis; for instance, the recognition of gradual development before the time of Moses, and the representation of Abraham, which is wholly unlike a product of oral tradition reduced to writing five hundred or a thousand years later. The setting of the Pentateuch in its present form is ascribed to Ezra, and subsequent additions cannot be detected with certainty. At the close of the discussion Dr. König dwells very forcibly on the substantial unity of the work. In reference to the nature of God and the prerogatives of Israel, the various parts of the compilation exhibit perfect unity. The God of the patriarchs and of Moses is everywhere represented as the living God, spiritual, exalted above the universe, and without a rival. Concerning the foundations of the Israelitish religion the testimony of the Pentateuch is consistent with itself. It is only on minor points, such as the way in which the Creator worked, and the number of places of worship, etc., that there are variations in the shading of the picture. That wherein there is unity may be likened to the Holy of Holies, that wherein there is diversity to the outer court.

The treatment of the other controverted portions of the Old Testament can only be referred to in the briefest manner. The identity of the author of Ezra and Nehemiah with the author of Chronicles, which is assumed by so many, is pronounced not proven. The Book of Esther, which is considered to abound in historic improbabilities, was not written until "centuries after Xerxes." The last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah are said to constitute a single whole, the ruthless anatomy of Duhm meeting with no favor. That critic's desperate attempt to refer chapters 24-27 to 128 B. C.

and 100 B. C. is decisively rejected. The unity of Hosea is affirmed against Wellhausen; and that scholar's elaborate effort to prove that the story of Gomer is a bit of history is warmly contested. Joel, which is classed by Wellhausen among post-exilic prophecies, is supposed to have been written late in the seventh century B. C. The last six chapters of Zechariah are assigned to two pre-exilic prophets, one of whom may perhaps be identified with a contemporary of Isaiah (Isaiah 8:2). The Psalter, with only one exception, is considered pre-Maccabean. It undoubtedly contains Davidic hymns, but their number cannot be positively ascertained. The Book of Job, minus the Prologue, 27:11-23, the speeches of Elihu, and the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, was probably written during the twenty or thirty years which immediately preceded the fall of the kingdom of Judah, that is, about 600 B. C. Canticles, which is described as a panegyric on true love, may have come into existence in its present form about 500 B. C. The Book of Jonah, which is didactic rather than historic, though based on tradition containing a nucleus of historic fact, is most probably placed in the fifth century B. C. The psalm in the second chapter is pronounced an interpolation. The Book of Daniel is dated from the early years of the Syrian persecution in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. A kernel of historical fact is admitted, but the credibility of the narrative on some important points is gravely questioned. As regards this book, indeed, Dr. König is one with the advanced critics. He goes even further than some of them in putting the composition of Ecclesiastes as late as the beginning of the first century B. C. The book, as we have it, is thought to contain a few interpolations.

Two of the most noteworthy features of Dr. König's work are the inclusion of the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, the importance of which is becoming more generally recognized; and the short but very comprehensive section on the history and methods of Old Testament exegesis. The course of exegesis among Jews and Christians, from the beginning until the present day, is sketched in a lucid and interesting manner. Great prominence is given to the significance of Luther as a pioneer of the right method of interpretation, but the very valuable labors of Calvin meet with relatively scant recognition. The volume concludes with some excellent hints to students. Three by-paths of exegesis must be carefully shunned. We must not Christianise the Old Testament, we must not Judaize it, we must not naturalize it. Dr. König's method of discussing problems is admirable and merits the careful study of young students. The range of reading which the book indicates is wide even for a German professor. Many recently published books and papers have been utilized, including the discussion of Psalm 110, in the Academy of 1892, and the new edition of the Greek fragments of Enoch by Lods, which has only just appeared. Books written in English are by no means unrecognized, although there is room for improvement in this respect.

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Current Literature.

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THE Bible does not occupy the supreme position to which it is so frequently assigned. It is in general a neglected book. There are large classes of readers and thinkers who almost wholly ignore it. Even among those who should pay it high regard it has fallen into the background. Of those who were nurtured almost within its sacred precincts, many have practically abandoned it. These people were in most cases anxious to hold to it, but for reasons to them good and sufficient, they have laid it aside as a kind of riddle and insoluble mystery. When asked why they neglect the sacred book their reply is ready. They place before the questioner the hindrances which have blocked their way. They acknowledge their attitude of indifference, or perhaps skepticism, and express a longing for relief. Many of them desire with all their hearts to understand the Scriptures and again confide in them.

THE work of propagating Bible study has brought to light some interesting facts. Appeal to thoughtful readers has called forth the cry of disappointed hearts. Men who clung long and tenaciously to the Bible, answer, when brought to task, that they had been forced by christian men to let go. Many students, whose chief purpose was to herald the glad tidings, have almost drifted to sea without anchor or compass. Instead of occupying a place of great popularity even as literature, the Bible is the

unpopular and the undesired book. Have we put the case too strongly? No. The diagnosis of the situation is correct. What now is the cause of the difficulty? What is the occasion of this drifting?

THE responsibility, according to the declaration of those who have lost interest in the Bible, rests upon so called christian scholarship. From the church fathers down to the present day the interpreters of the Bible have brought to their task certain *a priori* theories. These prepossessions have been their standards of measurement. All Scripture must be so interpreted as to fit these standards. The forced conformation of the Bible to certain assumptions necessarily wrested many passages from their obvious sense. This evil sooner or later produced a far reaching harvest. Volumes of commentaries, old and new, popular homiletical treatises, current newspaper expositions and pulpit utterances—all give us the results of those early methods of handling the Word. The subterfuges adopted, the ingenious attempts to harmonize difficulties and minimize perplexities have confused the careful reader, and have forced him into the position of the doubter. He has said to himself, "If such irrational and inconsistent methods of procedure must be adopted to explain the Bible, I can no longer accept it as a book of truth. My reason, as truly God-given as revelation itself, revolts against these methods of interpretation. I cannot accept a book which has to be interpreted after this fashion." This is not an imaginary case. Every community contains persons who have actually been driven by a zealous but mistaken method of interpreting the Scripture into a kind of indefinite half-hearted unbelief.

WITHOUT entering into the history of these misleading methods, we may mention two of the most dangerous presuppositions which prevail to-day among Bible students, and from the influence of which probably very few of us are wholly free. "The Bible is the word of God, a spiritual being; *therefore its contents at every point have a spiritual sense*. It is the supreme work

of the student to ascertain this spiritual sense, to penetrate into the spiritual depths. The literal sense is of the least importance, the hidden spiritual sense is the most probable." The influence of this principle, variously modified, can be traced from Origen down to the present day. The inventive imagination could bring out of the mind the most brilliant spiritual treasures. The method has led men into the wildest aberrations and delusions. They could find in the Bible any and every sense they desired. They injected their extreme and absurd vagaries into the Scriptures, and into their theological instruction. They poisoned the exegetical literature of their day, and that poison is still in the system. It is not too much to say that three-fourths of the Bible readers and students of to-day are perpetuating the same spiritualizing and allegorizing methods. Thoughtful men turn from such methods in disgust. They detect at once their arbitrariness and purely imaginative character. If the Bible is so expansive as to admit all the spiritual sense which men claim to find in it, there are in it no certainties. Some one will inquire, "Does the Bible then contain any spiritual truths?" Assuredly. But genealogical tables are genealogical tables, lists of dates are lists of dates, the narrative of a battle is the narrative of a battle. These do not inclose within them some deep undercurrent of spiritual truth unrecognized by the ordinary reader. It is true that they may teach no lessons, but they illustrate Jehovah's dealings with men. To claim to penetrate beneath and find everywhere some deep seated truth is to abuse Scripture. To work after this fashion will only add to the already large number of distrustful skeptical Bible readers.

THE man who has the best interests of the Bible at heart will lose no opportunity to cry down this evil. He will, furthermore, discourage the use of all literature which is permeated by such spiritualizing interpretations. The most popular commentaries to-day are the most injurious. Those which are most widely read are the commentaries capable of doing the most damage. The replete volumes of Matthew Henry, for

example, contain a vast amount of learning and truth, but they are compounded with such erroneous and hurtful methods of interpretation as to injure the genuine faith of many thoughtful students. How can we afford to permit the application of such false methods to the interpretation of the Bible? They only obscure its meaning and alienate those who would be its friends.

"*THE Bible is God's book. God is perfect. His book, therefore, must be absolutely true in every particular.* To find in it contradiction is to impeach the character of the author. If the author is discredited, the book is of course valueless." This theory is the working basis of a very large school of interpreters today. According to this theory the Bible is a true record of facts, of science, of chronology, history and philosophy, and may be judged by the standards of science only. By these standards it contains no errors. But the treacherous methods devised to explain apparent errors and contradictions reveal many difficulties. In fact, the ordinary reader whom we desire to reach does not see through the harmony. The difficulties remain. He is troubled by them and he becomes dissatisfied, and in the end he lays the book aside. How often has this happened? In thousands of cases.

THE mistake of the zealous defender of the Bible has been that the purpose of the book has been forgotten. Was the Bible given to man to teach science, chronology, history and philosophy, or was its prime purpose rather to reveal the character of God and his moral government? Suppose a sacred writer speaks of the earth as founded upon pillars, or gives the age of an acceding king as eight years, when the parallel account gives the same as eighteen. These are non-essentials and should not be permitted to stand in the way of a candid study of the Bible. But, it is suggested, such concessions are inconsistent with the theory of inspiration. Here, perhaps, we reach the real root of the difficulty. A particular theory of inspiration has

grown up within two or three centuries,—a theory unknown to Christ or the Apostles, unknown to the early church. This theory demands what the Bible nowhere claims for itself, and it is this theory in accordance with which the Bible must be understood. The test of infallibility at every point is demanded. The Bible measured by this wholly false standard falls short. The thoughtful reader, to say nothing of the student, recognizes this fact, but does not always recognize the falsity of the standard. As a consequence the Bible remains under a ban, and must so remain as long as the false test is insisted upon.

JUST so soon as we are willing to give up this particular theory of inspiration, mechanical and throughout artificial in the extreme, freighted with unreasonable requirements, not only not warranted by the writings themselves, but in direct contradiction to them, men will be ready to take up the Bible as the word of God, and to accept it as an invaluable guide in all things spiritual, in all matters of faith and practice. The former difficulties will vanish, perplexities will disappear, avowed half-believers will believe, and men will everywhere look upon the Bible as a trustworthy guide to lead them up to God.

The failure to recognize the fact that the Bible has grown through many centuries; that God has revealed his truth gradually; that to the inspired writer there was not necessarily given omniscience,—the failure to recognize these things has placed a barrier before a door wide open; a barrier which has shut out seekers after truth more earnest, in many cases, than those who have supposed themselves to be the sole possessors of the truth.

"I CONCEIVE, then, that while the Athenian community was not altogether wrong in the famous condemnation of Socrates as a 'sophist who had undermined the morals of youth,' the disciples of Socrates were altogether right in their indignant repudiation of the charge, so far as it affected either the personal morality of the master or his deepest philosophic aims and convictions. On the one hand, . . . we cannot but feel that the negative

effect of the Socratic dialectic must have been argumentatively stronger than the positive; and that on minds intellectually active and penetrating, but without moral earnestness, this is likely to have been the sole effect. . . . On the other hand, it is really essential to the Socratic method that the perpetual particular skepticism it develops should be combined with a permanent general faith in the common sense of mankind."

There is much in the movement of Biblical Criticism in this century which finds a parallel in the above quotation from Sidgwick's *History of Ethics*. There is a negative element in critical work. To those without strong religious sense it is the only element. Pull the props out, they say. Let the building go. But the building is the "Palace of the Great King," and only that we may make its foundations stronger are we willing to touch them. It is true that Biblical Criticism is dangerous, but for the church to go on in the light of present thought without Biblical Criticism is still more dangerous. The safety of criticism lies where the safety of the Socratic dialectic lay, in moral earnestness; in a pure desire to find the truth; above all, in the firm belief that there is a priceless, God-given truth to be found. As the dialectic belonged, properly, only to the moral man, so Biblical Criticism belongs essentially to the Christian man.

This parallel is no chance. The underlying principle, in both cases, is the same. It belongs to all progress of ethical and religious thought, and might be illustrated from the Protestant Reformation, or even from the early history of the Christian church itself. In the probing of all religious problems, the operations of the human mind, with its dangers and its safeguards, are much the same.

THE HEBREW DOCTRINE OF FUTURE LIFE.

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It must be conceded that the teaching of the Old Testament on the subject of a blessed life to come is quite vague and unsatisfactory. In the enforcement of obedience to law no appeals are made to rewards and punishments in another state of existence. And yet in a number of passages of the Old Testament we discover some traces of such belief, which when combined, as they may be, into one consistent whole, show that the Hebrew people were by no means wanting in that which has characterized the religious faith of all the other great nations.

Most of the allusions to Sheol, the realm of the dead, are of a gloomy character, and suggest no thought of glory or blessedness. Also, the statement concerning one who died, that he "was gathered to his people" (Gen. 25: 8, 9; 35: 29; 49: 33; Num. 20: 24; 27: 13; Deut. 32: 50) is too indefinite to afford any certain conclusion; although it does seem to mean something more than burial in the ancestral tomb. It suggests the idea of a personal departure to join the company of those of his own kin who had previously died. But it is only a suggestion, not a positive testimony.

The famous confession of Job (19: 25-27) bears on its face an admirable confidence in God, but scarcely warrants the ideas of resurrection which have been so often read into it. The passage simply says:

And I, I know that my Avenger lives,
And afterwards upon the dust will stand ;
And after my skin—they have destroyed this!—
Even from my flesh shall I behold Eloah ;
Whom I, I shall behold for myself.

The poet here represents Job, in a moment of great emotion, giving utterance to his confidence of final vindication. But he expresses no very definite idea as to the time or manner in which it will be effected. One thing he is sure of, that, whether in the body or out of the body, whether in this life or in the life to come, the ever-living Eloah will avenge his wrongs, and vindicate his innocence. And this is all that the language warrants us in saying.

Of a more determinate character is the confidence expressed in Psalm 16:8-12. The devout singer declares the most absolute expectation of deliverance for his heart, his flesh and his soul. The ground of his confidence is that Jehovah is always before him, even at his right hand, and therefore his inmost soul reposes in joyful and holy confidence that both now and hereafter all will go well with him. His present and future are secure in God.

Therefore my heart rejoices and my glory exults;
My flesh also shall dwell in security;
For thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol,
Nor wilt thou give thy holy one to see the pit.
Thou wilt make me know the path of life;
Fullness of joys is in thy presence;
Pleasures are at thy right hand forever.

In the Messianic sense, as explained in Acts 2:25-31, and 13:34-37, this could not apply literally to David or any other saint of the olden time. But, as expressing the confidence of the Psalmist of his absolute safety in the hand of God, the entire psalm may be taken as a specimen of the ultimate hope of every pious Hebrew. He probably had no clear conception of the manner in which this hope would be realized, but, like the authors of Psalms 73 and 49, he appears to have felt that, though the pathway to life might lead him through the valley of the shadow of death and down into the darkness of Sheol, God would surely redeem his soul "from the hand of Sheol, for he would take" him away.

In these last-named psalms there is an obvious allusion to the translation of Enoch, as recorded in Gen. 5:24. The record of the translations both of Enoch and Elijah is essentially indica-

tive of an immortal life,—a going up unto God in the heavens (2 Kings 2:11). So in Psalm 73:24–26 we read :

In thy counsel thou wilt guide me,
And afterwards into glory take me.
Whom have I in the heavens?
Even with thee I have no pleasure in the earth.
My flesh and my heart waste away;—
Rock of my heart and my portion is God forever.

Such language in the lips of one reared amid the theocratic ideas of Israel, and trained by the impressive symbolism of the sanctuary and its cultus, is inexplicable except as pointing to a blessed immortality. The lofty thought of fellowship with God, dwelling in his secret place, and the habit of calling him "my refuge and my fortress" (Psa. 91:1, 2; 46:1; 32:7) are incompatible with ignorance or unbelief touching a future life of bliss. Only such as have confidence in a perpetual fellowship with God can sing like the author of the twenty-seventh psalm :

Jehovah is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
Jehovah is the strength of my life;—
Of whom shall I be afraid?

In the prophetic books of the Old Testament we find four passages which contain the idea of a glorious resurrection of the dead. Two of these (Hos. 6:21, and Ezek. 37:1–14) are allegorical, and represent the revival and restoration of the Jewish community. But the imagery employed implies a current belief in the resurrection of the body, and the context and scope of both passages show that the ideals of honor and blessedness are all associated with the belief. But Isaiah 26:19 is a more direct expression of Jewish faith in a blissful resurrection :

Thy dead shall live, my dead bodies shall rise.
Awake and shout for joy, O dwellers in the dust!
For the dew of lights is thy dew, and the earth shall cast forth the shades.

This is in noticeable contrast with what is written in verse 14 of the same chapter. There the dead who had ruled over Jehovah's people are conceived as shades that shall rise no more; but

Jehovah's dead ones shall live again. They compose the dead body of a nation which the prophet calls his own, and which is destined to rise up from the dust of the grave. The divine power which brings them forth is called the "dew of light"; not earthly dew, which quickens perishable vegetation, but dew of heavenly luminaries, which starts into life the spirits of the dead. This dew of Jehovah "is so full of the light of life that it even draws forth the shades from the dark womb of the under world."¹ So joyful is the thought of this resurrection to the prophet that he breaks out in a great emotion, and calls on the dwellers of the dust to awake and sing.

More explicit, however, than any other text of the Old Testament bearing on this subject is Daniel 12:2, 3,—"Many from the sleeping ones of earth-dust shall awake, some to life eternal, and some to reproaches, to contempt eternal. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the expanse, and they that turn many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever." Whatever else may be learned from these words, they clearly teach the doctrine of a blissful resurrection of some that sleep in the dust of the earth, and also suggest the idea of degrees of glory in the resurrection life. Here we find witness of the Jewish "hope toward God," and the doctrine enunciated by Paul in Acts 24:15, "that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust."

The entire absence of appeal to another life in the Mosaic legislation may, perhaps, be partly explained in the thought that a perfect realization of the theocracy must ultimately result in heaven on earth. Corresponding with the New Testament symbol of the city of God coming down from heaven to earth, the Hebrew theocracy is a type of humanity as ultimately God's redeemed family and kingdom, a world-nation and state, in which all race distinctions become obliterated, and God himself pitches his tabernacle with men, makes them all his peoples, wipes away every tear, and abolishes death (Rev. 21:3-5). Such is the ideal republic of God, realizing that harmony of mankind with eternal righteousness and love which makes each individual of the state

¹ Cheyne, Commentary on Isaiah, *in loco*.

a "king and priest unto God," attaining his own highest good in loving obedience and fidelity, while at the same time he also contributes his part to promote the highest good of every other member of the state. Such fellowship with God and his people is and must be everlasting life. And this idea, however undeveloped and undefined amid the figures and symbols of the Hebrew scriptures, has, nevertheless, its roots in the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms.

THE RELATIONS OF BIBLICAL FACTS AND SCIENCE REGARDING GOD AND MAN TO UNI- VERSAL TRUTH.

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The content of biblical teaching regarding the elements of man's nature and the intuitive sphere of thought and action proceeding from it is universal in its bearing. That is, the biblical view of man's nature is not a peculiar view. It is not creative nor originative. It brings out no truth or element which did not exist before. It is founded on the facts of man's nature. It neither proves them nor brings them into existence. It recognizes man's manifold nature and the various activities to which it gives rise. Of this it speaks. To this it addresses its appeals. But its psychology is that of the man, the one psychology which the human race has always embodied, which it has always investigated. The biblical psychology, in its statements, neither makes truth nor creates it. Like all other departments of scientific analysis, it simply takes cognizance of the facts as they exist. To recognize that this broad basis of universal necessary and unchangeable truth is at the foundation of all biblical teaching is important, since it simplifies our thinking by removing the artificial barrier often erected between the written truth and the living truth; between universal truth, fundamental to the Bible, which necessarily shaped its teaching, and that portion of universal truth which finds expression and recognition in the Bible. It clears the ground at once of any mysterious, unthinkable and inexpressible difference between the two. It enables the Gentiles, through whose nature God has revealed himself in part, to join hands with the Christian over all that portion of God's revelation common to both, and to

recognize the unity already subsisting between them, since God is one and truth is one, whether reached through the written word or through the living soul. Man was already in existence, and is still in existence, with all the attributes and elements of his nature in full activity, before he finds these elements and attributes expressed in the Bible. It was not the science of anatomy or physiology which gave shape to the human body, but the body which gave shape to the sciences. So it is with biblical science; it is not the biblical scheme of man's nature which fashioned that nature, but the man whose nature furnished the facts exhibited in the biblical representation.

The great bundle of human potencies and activities embraced under the various heads of conscience, will, emotion, intellect, are not called into existence by their mention in the Bible, are not proved by the Bible.

Nor are the feelings, thoughts, aspirations, actions, made possible through these faculties, and necessarily operative, produced or occasioned by the reference made to them in the Bible.

The Bible always takes their existence and operation for granted, wholly apart from any knowledge of their existence gained from itself.

That man should thus exercise all his perceptions with regard to the divine existence and presence, with regard to all questions pertaining to right and duty, intercourse with his fellow-men, and the various relations subsisting between the diverse parts of the universe in their totality; or, in other words, his religious, moral, intellectual nature; that he does this wholly apart from any command to do so, that he is necessitated to it by the constituent elements of his nature which predetermine his thought and action, would seem a self-evident truth.

But, unfortunately, many who are actuated by sincere zeal for the Bible, but with mistaken views as to its character, see fit to dispute this position, utterly unaware that they are discrediting, not honoring the Bible. They forget the injunction of the apostle to his converts, "Though I or an angel from heaven should preach anything but the truth, believe him not," and, in order to make the Bible seem more divine, they seek to separate

its teaching from its foundation in universal facts and truth, and to present it as a system of truth, having its origin in the arbitrary will of God, instead of a system pressed into shape by the facts and truths of the creation of God. Hence they ask men to believe that they are thus and thus because it is in the Bible, whereas it is in the Bible because men are thus and thus, because men are what they are, because it is true. The written Word is thus given a purely artificial authority which militates against its true authority as a well of living truth.

Taking the human race in the entirety of its branches and the entirety of its history, there has always been a sense of God and duty, not derived from the written record, but from the soul of man, and the constant, all-pervasive influence of the divine presence. And this is in complete agreement with the biblical representation which displays all the constituent elements of man's life and all its varied activities precisely as we see them operating in nature. The truth of the written Word is, therefore, demonstrated by its entire harmony and concord with universal truth, exhibiting itself now, as ever, in the hearts and consciences of living men.

Secondly. Having thus shown that the biblical teaching regarding man is universal in its character and coextensive with the race, it is now our purpose to show that the facts and truths regarding spiritual man acquire force and validity, not because found in the written Word, but because the written Word expresses the universal necessary and unchangeable facts and truths of this new creation, brought into existence, as was the first, by the power of the living God. This at once breaks down all artificial barriers between the facts and truths of spiritual life recorded in the written Word, and similar facts and truths as successively accomplished since. It refutes the error that the facts and truths recorded in the written Word possess an inherent sacredness or value or efficacy beyond the similar facts and truths illustrated in the constitution and activities of man's spiritual nature since the new creation began; but it exalts the truth that the written Word expresses in the fullest sense facts and truths coextensive with the new creation. The facts and truths of spiritual life

recorded in the written Word are not apart from, but a part of, the universal experience of the new spiritual creation.

This aspect of the truth will alone make the written Word a well of living spiritual truth, not because it is distinctive, but because it meets the facts and truths of spiritual life of which we are cognizant. The natural man knoweth not the things of God, because they are spiritually discerned. The spiritual man discerns them, because they are written upon the tablets of his newly-constituted spiritual nature, and attested by the constant pressure and influences of the divine spirit.

As we have seen, biblical teaching regarding man by nature and natural theology agree with the researches of man's investigations because, man by nature, in the Bible, is one with man by nature outside the Bible, and the God which the Bible represents as revealed to the natural man through his nature is one with the God which man has been enabled to reach through his investigations apart from the Bible. So it is that the spiritual nature, as represented in the written Word in the constituent elements of its nature in all its operations and activities, is in full consonance with the universal facts and truths of spiritual life as attested by the multitude of spiritual men of all ages in whose nature spiritual recreation has become an accomplished fact. Thus the spiritual natures and activities of James, of John, of Paul, of Peter, are not distinct from nor apart from the universal experience of the spiritual creation of all ages, but are one with it. Their spiritual experiences are not distinctively true, nor true in any peculiar sense, because found in the written Word, but because they constitute part of the universal facts and truths of the spiritual world; and spiritual truth found between the covers of the written Word is one with spiritual experience found outside the covers of the written Word, so that our experiences are not true because of James's, of John's, or Peter's or Paul's experience, nor are their experiences and the spiritual facts and truths underlying them an arbitrary mechanical system of spiritual thought or truth imposed upon our life, but our experiences are one with theirs, and theirs one with ours, because our spiritual nature is one, because the spiritual man everywhere pos-

sesses the same solidarity of nature as the natural man ; and, as the natural man finds the God which he is enabled to reach through his reason, so the spiritual man of all times and ages recognizes the spiritual truth freely offered to him through the reconstitution of his nature in the spirit and through the constant influence and pressure of the spirit of God upon him.

We are thus assured, on comparison of the written record with the living truth, that the validity of the written Word of God, of biblical facts, of biblical science, is assured for all time, because it is founded in universal and necessary truth, and in itself forms an integral portion of that truth.

THE SUCCESSORS OF EZRA THE SCRIBE.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
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Of the two centuries from Cyrus to Alexander the Great, during which the Jews were Persian subjects, the first was filled with stirring and significant events. It saw the rise of the Persian Empire, her first conflict with Greece at Marathon, the beginnings of Greek philosophy and literature, and the introduction of the law into Jerusalem. Socrates, Euripides and Ezra, Darius, Pericles and Nehemiah, played their parts within it. The next hundred years from 425-331 B.C. brought changes and events equally important to the peoples of the East and West. The huge bulk of the Persian Empire held together in spite of many shocks within and without. The court was a scene of intrigue and corruption, where murder more than once paved the way for the accession of the new ruler. In such circumstances Darius II. (Nothus) came to the throne and reigned twenty years, to be succeeded by Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), whose reign, from 405-362 B.C., was marked by the expedition of his brother Cyrus against him, which Xenophon has immortalized in his *Anabasis*. It was then that the Greeks learned for the first time the weakness of that great empire through whose length and breadth ten thousand Greek soldiers could march victoriously. A third Artaxerxes followed, called Ochus, who by shrewd and vigorous management gave the empire something of its former prestige. He won back Egypt, which had revolted half a century before—an achievement which, according to Mr. Grote, "must have been one of the most impressive events of the age," and "exalted the Persian Empire in force and credit to a point nearly as high as it had ever occupied before." It was the last effort, however, just preceding the end. Ochus was poisoned in 340 B.C.; his son,

who succeeded him, was murdered after three years, to be followed by Codomannus, who took the name of Darius III. A few months after his accession there came to the throne of a Greek state the young Alexander. He invaded Asia Minor in 335 B.C. By three battles, on the Granicus in Asia Minor in 334 B.C., at Issus in 333 B.C., and in the heart of the empire in 331 B.C., he laid Persia at his feet. With him a new era begins for the Orient, the introduction of Greek rule and Greek ideas and, what especially concerns the student of biblical history, a crisis in the history of Jerusalem and the religion of Israel—an entirely new chapter of the world's history.

This second Persian century, whose outward events are thus briefly summarized, extending in biblical annals from Nehemiah to Alexander the Great, was, so far as recorded history goes, the darkest epoch in Jewish life. No historical records of the time remain. The historians of Greece and Persia do not mention Judea. These facts make it evident enough that Jerusalem was thoroughly submissive to Persian rule and played an utterly insignificant part in the political activity of the time. But it is not at all to be taken as a matter of course that the inward life of the Jewish people during this period is unimportant. Indeed the contrary is the case. One need merely glance at the new ideas and institutions of the Greek period which succeeded this century to learn how active and productive was Jewish thinking in this silent age.

The chief characteristic achievement of this epoch is found by noting the condition of the Jewish commonwealth at the close of the preceding age. That had seen the beginning of those institutions which Ezra had introduced. In the following century the good and the evil elements of these institutions began to appear as well as tendencies which followed in their train; as the former had been the age of Ezra the Scribe, so this was the age of his followers, the Scribes, who organized, established and applied his teachings, and made practically operative the forces which constituted the Jewish people what they came to be in the time of Christ—embracing those on whom he pronounced condemnation, as well as those from whom he selected

his disciples and founded his church. These considerations make the study of the movements of thought in the period especially important, and justify the use of every scientific means to ascertain the details of their course and character. Unfortunately, however, the sources of information are very few. The student must depend largely upon indirect evidence, the result of inference and conjecture from the thought and institutions of the centuries which precede and follow.

The Jewish community of the preceding century, under the pressure of Persian rule, had gradually lost the spirit of nationality. With it disappeared a great and salutary element in their life, the presence and activity of the prophets. Before it died, however, prophecy had given utterance to a notable series of truths, which it left as a heritage to the later generations. The ideas of the one Jehovah, of his righteousness, so pure and lofty, demanding righteousness in his people, of that Messianic reign which he was to introduce, when Jerusalem was to be the center of the world, were the chief parts of this prophetic legacy. They must now be worked into the national experience—for it is one thing to know a truth and another thing to make it a part of one's being. Of these ideas, monotheism, the faith of one Jehovah, was already learned. The hope of the Messianic kingdom was also early appropriated. But the ideal of righteousness, a central thought of national and individual experience, was slow to work its way into men's hearts. Great prophetic souls had seen it from afar and proclaimed it, but the mass of the people were too far down in the valley to be seriously affected by the vision. Something else was needed to bring it home to them, to enable them to realize and attain it. Could this be done? It was the firm conviction of its possibility which underlay Ezra's mission when he came with "the Law" from Babylon. He taught men that to obtain this righteousness they must obey "the Law" of the righteous God. He made known to them that the righteous character of which the prophets had spoken was open to *all* through this "Law." This was the essence of Ezra's gospel, and a veritable Gospel it was to the Jewish community.

The “prophets” and the “Law” were, therefore, not at variance but in deepest harmony. The “Law” was a means to the realization of the rich ripe teaching of prophecy. It is no wonder that, when the people realized what Ezra had made possible for every individual among them, they embraced it with a passion of joy, with a delighted devotion which no epoch of the religion of Israel had ever before witnessed. Delight in the discovery and application of a genial religious truth, delight in the consciousness of righteousness now to be secured, delight in the universal appropriation of truth which had seemed hitherto reserved for select souls—all this was characteristic of the age, and enshrines itself in those ringing Psalms¹ of joy which are the response of the community to the “Law of Jehovah.” The religious poetry of the individual life was now first made possible in the history of mankind.

It is easy now to see more clearly and definitely the task of the generation that followed Ezra. It was theirs to work into experience the great truths of prophecy made attainable by the individual through obedience to the “Law” and realized under the form of legal precepts. Who was to lead the way in this task if not that body of men in sympathy with Ezra and his ideals, who knew the “Law,” the meaning and spirit of its teachings, who could explain and enforce its precepts? These were the Scribes, and to them belongs the coming age. Some of them were also priests, as Ezra was, but it was not necessary that they should be priests. Priests' duties were often such as to prevent their acting as scribes, while pious and devoted laymen were equally eligible to teach and apply the Law.

The primary necessity then was the application of this Law to the age. The Law was ancient, its precepts were directed to different historical circumstances, came themselves in part from different ages of the nation's history. It was, therefore, in its details, often inappropriate, incomplete and even contradictory. To accomplish the purpose of making righteousness possible to

¹ The people who wrote and sang Psalm ciii. had very different conceptions of life and religion from those which we are accustomed to assign to the age of “legalism.” It was under the “Law” that this Psalm was produced, and many others like it.

all, the life of the present must be able to find in the Law a network of rules governing present conditions. The Scribes' work was to accomplish this adaptation, to work it out into practical detail, to show the people how ancient statutes bore on immediate circumstances. In the accomplishment of this purpose they laid the foundations of two very important institutions of later days—the Synagogue and the Oral Tradition.

The Synagogue was the institution whose germ lay in the primitive gathering of Jews to hear a Scribe explain and apply the Law. Even in Ezra's time it had been foreshadowed in the meeting of that assembly recorded in Nehemiah, ch. 8, when Ezra read the Law to the people in Jerusalem, and the Levites went about among them explaining it. Its appearance was natural and inevitable—the indispensable complement of the work of the Scribes. It was not an assembly for worship, it was for the teaching of the people in the Law. Worship was offered at the Temple. Instruction was given in the Synagogue. In the former place the priest officiated and the people stood afar off. In the latter people and priest or scribe united in one common work. The Synagogue was the people's affair, while the Temple was Jehovah's house.¹

The instruction of the Scribes in the Synagogue was given orally as a kind of commentary on the sacred roll. It is not difficult to understand how these explanations and teachings of pious scribes might partake in time of a similar sacred character. There was deep enthusiasm for the Law and devotion to its teachings. But scribes had given days and nights to the study of this Law; they had become imbued with the Mosaic spirit; without their wise elucidation and application the Law would lose half its authority through misunderstanding of its relation to present life. Hence there grew up the belief that these scribal teachings constituted an "Oral Law," running side by side with the "Written Law," explaining and modifying it. This "Law" was thought to have Mosaic authority also. The Scribes

¹ It has often been pointed out how the Christian Church has drawn from both Temple and Synagogue. Its services are a combination of Temple worship and Synagogue teaching.

naturally would cherish such a notion, at first crudely and in all sincerity, until it came to be a dogma that this Oral Law was delivered from God to Moses on the sacred mount. Jewish writers came to write of it as follows: "Moses received the Law (*i. e.*, the Oral Law) from Sinai and delivered it to Joshua and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets¹ delivered it to the men of the great Synagogue," *i. e.*, the Scribes. This authoritative oral traditional Law was the instrument in the hands of the early Scribes which made the written Law flexible, in harmony with the times, which saved it from becoming antiquated and unintelligible, and thus finally from losing practical authority. Its usefulness remained constant, since it grew with the needs of the people, while the written Law was fixed.

In connection with these fundamental activities of the Scribes were two other services, which were complementary but most important. The first was their literary activity, manifested in the collection of the national religious literature. The connection of this with their legal spirit and labors is easily seen. It was one of the most notable and valuable of their services to the nation and the world. Nehemiah may have given the first impulse in this direction. Tradition says that he "founded a library and gathered together the writings concerning the Kings and of the Prophets, and the songs of David and epistles of (Persian) kings concerning temple gifts." If we think of the writings of the Prophets, Psalmists, and others as gathered into collections, edited, arranged, corrected by these diligent students, teachers and preachers, we shall not go far wrong in asserting that we owe our Old Testament to the work of the Scribes.

The second service which they rendered is seen in their influence upon the Temple worship, the priests and the worshippers. The Law, preached and applied by the Scribes, had

¹ Here is another evidence of the close relation between the prophetic teaching and the activity of the Scribes, a relation often misunderstood, overlooked and even denied. Just what this relation was, one of means and end, has been already suggested.

very much to say about the Temple and its services. The results secured by the diligent scribal instruction of the people on these points have not always been considered by scholars, but they could not fail to be very significant and impressive.

This appears evident in relation to the priests. The Law immensely increased their privileges, exalted their position, enhanced their revenues. It might legitimately be called a glorification of the priesthood. But, at the same time, it presented a lofty ideal of the priest, clearly defined his duties and obligations, and became thus a powerful restraint on his worldly and irreligious ambitions and tendencies. That such a restraint was necessary may be imagined from the one hint which Josephus gives of the outward history of the time. Johanan, the grandson of Eliashib, high priest in the time of Nehemiah, quarreled with his brother Joshua about the high-priesthood and killed him in the Temple. It cannot be doubted that the Law as preached by the Scribes tended to elevate and dignify the character of the priests and the Temple worship.

Its most beneficent influence, however, in this respect, was exercised on the community as a whole. It must be remembered that the whole people were instructed in a Law, of which a large element consisted of ritual and details of priests' work in the Temple. To us all this element is exceedingly dull and antiquated, a field for archæological investigation or the excursions of type-mad allegorists. But what was it to them if not a veritable revelation? It explained to them the meaning of the worship. What they had formerly done, or merely seen, with a vague awe of the sanctity of the action, whether it were a sacrifice or a festival, what had formerly been a more or less unintelligible action of the priest on great days of worship, was now made plain. With their knowledge of the religious meaning of these ceremonies their interest in them naturally grew and their love for them increased. In the Jews of the Second Temple appears the first example of intelligent popular worship. Ritual became real. Worship was a religious exercise of the mind and heart. The outcome of all this training is seen in the revival of Temple song. The Book of Psalms, as we have it, is the Hymn

Book of the Second Temple. Its editing, its arrangement of responsive parts for priests and congregation, is the work of Scribes and the result of their teaching of the Law.

This, in general, was the inner course of events in Jerusalem during the fourth pre-Christian century, the silent age, the age of the Scribes. It was not a gloomy, hopeless period in the community's history. They were not groaning under the yoke of religion. "We judge the Scribes wrongly," suggests an historian of Israel, "if we regard them as the censors of their nation, or imagine that their disciples felt oppressed under their guidance. It does not appear that the Jews, at all events at first, saw in the Law and in the precepts added to it, a yoke, which, had it been possible, they would gladly have thrown off." Why this judgment is correct we have seen above, and how it came to pass that the Law made them strong, a nation of zealots who a few centuries after were willing to die "rather than do the things which the Law forbade or leave undone the things which it commanded."

Such is the bright side—a side which is commonly passed over unnoticed, as though men who wrought so powerfully upon the Jews were nothing but blind and bad leaders. But there was a dark side. This teaching of the Law and hope in Law, the devotion to Temple service which followed in its train, have within them tendencies which, if left alone and allowed to proceed unchecked, paralyze the religious life which they sincerely propose to conserve and develop. They lead to externalism in life and formalism in worship, two of the worst evils by which any religion can be cursed. "Grand and beautiful" as were the ideas of the lawgiver, to secure the prophetic ideal of righteousness by means of obedience to the written Law and to realize this in a holy people dedicated to Jehovah, and firmly as he embodied these ideas in his institutions and thus preserved them, the righteousness attained by them was not after all that of the prophetic ideal. "A free dedication to Jehovah he could not imagine. He must circumscribe and regulate everything down to the very details. The holiness attained was a holiness by

separation. What it required came to be not to do good but to avoid sin."¹ The first glow of obedience could not last.¹

This aim which was cherished, the planting of the prophetic ideas in the popular mind, was thus defeated not only by the method adopted to attain it. It went to shipwreck upon another rock by a disaster which was almost inevitable. The great end was lost in the worship of the means. The Law and Temple worship began to usurp the place of, to be equivalent to, to claim superiority over, the holiness which they were expected to secure. It soon came to the religious practice which Koheleth a few centuries after rejected with scorn—painful, scrupulous observance of rites and payment of vows.² The sanctity of a book, the efficacy of mere ritual, apart from their moral and religious ideal and content, made of the community what it was in the days of Jesus. The successor of Ezra the Scribe at the last—his lineal descendant—was the Pharisee.

¹ Some ideas and, in part, the language here are suggested by Kuenen's *Religion of Israel* where a keen analysis of Scribism is made.

² Cf. Eccles. 5:1-7.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

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II.

Was Christ crucified on a Friday or a Thursday?

Let us first look at our authorities. S. Peter's account is, "For it was Preparation which is the day before a sabbath;"¹ S. John's, "For it was Preparation;" and again, "It was Preparation of the passover."² With this S. Luke agrees, "And it was a day of Preparation and a sabbath was approaching."³ S. Matthew also describes the next day thus, "On the morrow which is after the Preparation."⁴

According to the common, and, I believe, unquestionably true, view "Preparation" is the Jewish name for Friday, as preparation was on that day made for the coming Sabbath. But the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott) holds that in this particular case it means Thursday⁵ the next day Friday being the great festival of the "first day of unleavened bread on which the paschal lamb was killed." Special preparations would have to be made for that day by killing the lamb and searching for leaven with a view to the complete destruction of every particle of it, and the preparation on Thursday would take the place of the ordinary preparation on Friday.

Let us see what arguments can be brought to support this view.

It is stated that the term "sabbath" need not always mean the seventh day of the week. The great day of atonement is

¹Mark 15:42.

²John 19:31, 14.

³Luke 23:54.

⁴Matt. 27:62.

⁵*Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Chap. 6. Note.

called a "sabbath of rest,"¹ and the Jews were ordered to rest on some of the greater festivals; notably on the first day of unleavened bread "no manner of work might be done save that which every man must eat."² Now if the first day of unleavened bread was itself a sabbath, it would necessarily be preceded by a Preparation. S. Luke's language, "It was a day of Preparation and a sabbath was approaching," but still more S. John's which may fairly be translated, "It was Preparation *for* the Passover" are held to indicate that the ordinary Preparation is not meant but the special Preparation for the passover. This indication is strengthened by S. John's further observation, "For the day of that sabbath was great."³ Why should he have said this if the weekly Sabbath was intended?

Again, S. Matthew's circumlocution, "On the morrow, which is after the Preparation," is difficult to account for except on the supposition that he was going to write "which was the first day of unleavened bread," but, recollecting that he had already⁴ used that term in a popular or Galilean sense (it is supposed) to describe the day before, felt precluded from using it in its proper pentateuchal sense now. Had an ordinary Sabbath followed, he would have written "On the morrow, which was the Sabbath."

Again, there are numerical calculations which are claimed distinctly to favor Thursday. S. Mark, following S. Peter, writes, "The Son of Man must . . . rise again *after three days*," and again, "*After three days* he shall rise again."⁵ But the strongest passage of all is found in S. Matthew, "As Jonah was three days and three nights in the sea monster's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the Earth."⁶ If other passages are neutral or only slightly favor the longer period, this, it is claimed, demands it. One day and two nights cannot be extended into three days and three nights. The crucifixion, therefore, must have taken place on a Thursday.

Now I have shown elsewhere,⁷ that there are strong reasons for holding that the verse which speaks of the Son of Man being

¹ Lev. 23:32.

² Exod. 12:16.

³ John 19:31.

⁴ Matt. 26:17.

⁵ Mark 8:31; 9:31.

⁶ Matt. 12:40.

⁷ *The Composition of the Four Gospels*, Macmillan, New York.

three days and three nights in the heart of the earth, though put into our Lord's mouth, was not really uttered by Him, but is one of those later accretions which gathered round the primitive Petrine gospel during its oral stage under the catechists of the church at Jerusalem. I have shown that a group of thirteen or fourteen of these accretions is concerned with the fulfillment of Scripture by Christ as the Messiah: that this group is peculiar to the first Gospel: that it was due to the Aramaic preachers or catechists, for the quotations never follow the Septuagint version as the rest of the Gospel quotations do: and that there was often much straining of evidence to make these fulfillments good. Sometimes the words of the prophet are altered in what we should consider important respects, sometimes S. Peter's memoirs are altered to obtain the desired result. All this is undeniable and highly suggestive. It shows that Jewish christians, educated in Rabbinic methods of exegesis, regarded these distortions as legitimate. Such a trifle as adding a third night to the recognized three days would not appear to them worthy of account.

Does any one think this novel and startling? Let him read what the learned Dr. Lightfoot wrote in his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, published A. D. 1644. Briefly it amounts to this: There is in Aramaic a word 'ônah of doubtful meaning. The following definitions of it are given in the Talmud, (1) "How much is the space of an 'ônah?" 'R. Jochanan says, either a day or a night.' 'R. Akiba fixed a day for an 'ônah and a night for an 'ônah.' 'But the tradition is that R. Eliezer Ben Azariah said, 'A day and a night make an 'ônah and a part of an 'ônah is as the whole.' It is said of a period of three days 'R. Ismael saith, 'Sometimes it contains four 'ônôth, sometimes five, sometimes six.'"'

Now if the Aramaic catechists said, "As Jonah was three 'ônôth in the sea monster's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three 'ônôth in the heart of the earth," all inconsistency with the common date of the Resurrection would disappear, and yet the Greek catechists who moulded our "Gospel according to St. Matthew" would from their knowledge of the Septuagint naturally translate it in both cases "three days and three nights," though S. Paul

uses a word *νυχθημερον* which might have served their purpose better.

I do not give this as the true explanation. I do not think it is so. But Lightfoot's authority may help to remove some prejudices.

It is to be noticed that S. Mark's "After three days I shall rise again," is usually altered in the other gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and S. Paul into "On the third day." And in course of time this change reacted on the text of S. Mark. In the Syrian recension, which the English authorized version follows, "On the third day" is found in S. Mark also. Now to our ideas a man speaking on Friday of an event which is to happen on Sunday, might describe it as about to happen "on the third day," but not "after three days." We must not, however, intrude our mathematical prejudices into ancient thought.

There exists a passage which proves decisively that the Evangelists saw no distinction between these two phrases. "Sir," writes S. Matthew, "we remember that that imposter said while he was yet alive *after three days* I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure *until the third day*."¹

It is not, I think, impossible that the Jewish carelessness about numbers was partly due to the symbolic meaning which they attached to certain numbers. Three, four, seven, ten and multiples of these figures occur in the Bible far oftener than they would do, if there were no symbolism to be sought. "Forty" probably signifies one generation of human life, otherwise its frequent occurrence in the Bible is hard to account for. The number *three* is exceptionally suitable here to one who symbolizes. But I certainly do not think that if no symbolic meaning had been sought, "two" would have taken its place. The difficulty is deeper.

In fact we have to deal with the curious custom of inclusive reckoning. It appears to me that inclusive reckoning was the inveterate habit of the vulgar, but that the lawyers in legal documents where ambiguity would be fatal, avoided it. Hence in the Pentateuch numbers are used as we use them. "Seven days of

¹ Matt. 27:63.

unleavened bread," for example, are calculated from "the fourteenth day of the month at even until the twenty-first day of the month at even."¹ Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, I am told, exhibit both uses: in legal documents exclusive reckoning prevails, but in ordinary life great confusion and ambiguity exists from the preference for inclusive figures. How inveterate the error was is shown by the Roman method of calculating the days of the month. They reckoned backwards and always inclusively. Thus the last day of April, for example, was called the day before the Kalends of May, and the last day but one *the third day* before the Kalends of May, though it surely ought to be called the second. The same with the nones and the ides. Even older than this was the weekly market. It was held every eighth day but was called *nundinae* "the ninth day," instead of "the eighth." Any one may see by consulting a concordance that the common biblical expression "on the third day," signifies wherever we can test its meaning "the day after to-morrow." Our Lord used it thus in the verse "Behold I cast out demons and accomplish healings to-day and to-morrow and the third day I am perfected." The Hebraist knows that "heretofore" is expressed by two nouns "yesterday and the day before," literally "yesterday and the third day." In Latin *nudius tertius* "it is now the third day" means "the day before yesterday."

On the whole I submit that the argument from arithmetic is decidedly in favor of Friday.

Again although in deciding between Thursday and Friday S. Luke, especially as his evidence is only given in an "editorial note," cannot be put on a level with eyewitnesses like SS. Peter and John, yet at least he may be used to show what was the belief of the Western Church which on so interesting a question can hardly have been mistaken. After describing our Lord's burial S. Luke says that the women "rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment and on the first day of the week" came the Resurrection. Plainly he regards Friday as the day of burial and therefore of crucifixion, Saturday as the Sabbath, and Sunday as the Resurrection day. It is an intolerable straining

¹Exod. 12:18.

of his words to suppose that by "the sabbath" he meant forty-eight hours, two "sabbaths" coming consecutively. Such an interpretation is the fruit of sheer desperation.

But I fail to find any authority for the supposition that the Jews in the time of Christ would have applied the name "sabbath," without some qualification, to any festival except the seventh day, or "Preparation" to any day but Friday. In the Old Testament the Sabbath is not often mentioned, hardly so often as it is in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. But under the Rabbis the sanctity of the day had been made a chief article of faith. The Maccabean patriots had allowed themselves to be cut down to a man sooner than defend themselves on the Sabbath. The Talmudic rules for Sabbath observance form a life study in themselves. There is not a trace in the New Testament of sharing the honor of the day with any other festival however great. Modern Jews draw a distinction between Sabbaths and festivals, much as churchmen do between holy-days and Sundays. The very phrase "twice a week" "first day of the week," where "week" is literally "sabbath," shows how fixed the language had become.

When S. John wrote "For the day of that sabbath was great," I believe he simply meant to remind his Gentile readers how sacred a day the Sabbath was in the eyes of the Jew. For if it be true that S. John, when he wrote in Greek, thought in Aramaic (and I believe that the structure of his sentences proves this) he would not feel any difference between the expressions "The day of that sabbath" and "That sabbath day." Still I am ready to admit that if (as is practically certain) the Sabbath on this particular year coincided with the festival, such a Sabbath would be superior to ordinary Sabbaths, much as Easter day with churchmen is superior to an ordinary Sunday.¹

S. John's expression, "It was Preparation of the passover," will therefore mean "It was passover Friday," by which phrase I do not mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, for, though that also on this occasion would be a Friday, it was too far removed from the slaying of the paschal lamb to be so designated. "Passover Friday" will be the day on the afternoon of which the

¹ See Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, I. 1690.

paschal lamb was slain and in the night of which, according to popular language, it was eaten.

The ancient Christians uniformly held that Friday was the day of Christ's death. Modern Greeks still call Friday "Preparation." There seems to be no break in the chain of evidence, and I feel very confident that all the arguments to the contrary are unavailing.

SPINOZA AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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I.

The following pages contain a résumé of the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th chapters of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus continens dissertationes aliquot quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tandem salva pietate et reipublicae pace posse concedi sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae ipsaque pietate tolli non posse*. This tractatus was first published anonymously at Hamburg, 1670, with the motto from 1 John 4:13. The edition before us is that by H. E. G. Paulus, Jena, 1802. In the same year in which Spinoza's tractatus was published, Hobbes' Leviathan also came from the press, and fifteen years before Le Peyrere's *Systema theologicum* was issued. Whether Spinoza knew these works, which, as far as the Pentateuch question is concerned, touch more or less on the same questions, we cannot decide, but it must be assumed that he wrote independently, because he had advantages which his precursors had not. Spinoza was a Hebrew scholar and acquainted with the literature of his people, which cannot be said of either Peyrere or Hobbes. Be this as it may, certain it is that Spinoza anticipated many of the critical and hermeneutical views which are now accepted. The language of a scholar, belonging to the conservative school of Germany, Prof. Strack, in his *Einleitung*, (3d ed. Nördlingen, 1888) is this: "It cannot be denied that among Spinoza's opinions are not a few found, acknowledged at present to a wide extent, often also without mentioning him" (p. 8). We may not agree with Spinoza in all points, but we cannot deny to him the honor of having been one of those early pioneers who paved the way for future systematic investigation. "It was not," says Farrar (*History of Interpret-*

tation, p. 384) "till a century later that his influence was felt in exegesis, but when it was felt men remembered his saying, that 'though it was not wholly necessary to know Christ after the flesh, yet it was necessary to know that eternal Son of God, that is, the eternal wisdom of God, which has manifested itself in all things, especially in the mind of man, and by far most of all in Christ Jesus, . . . and because the wisdom was chiefly manifested by Jesus Christ, therefore his disciples preached it, as far as it had been revealed by Him to them.' It may at least be hoped that he who wrote this, and who also lived a life of singular moral nobleness and beauty—whatever may have been his errors—was not far from the kingdom of heaven." With these preparatory remarks we enter upon our subject proper.

The seventh chapter of his theologically-political treatise, which treats of the interpretation of the Scriptures, Spinoza opens thus: "It is in the mouths of all that the Holy Scripture is the Word of God, which teaches men the soul-blessedness or the way of salvation. In order to know what the Holy Scripture teaches it is necessary to explain the same after the same method as nature is interpreted. For as the method of interpreting nature mainly consists in this, that we compose a history of nature, and from it, as from certain facts, deduce the definition of natural things, in the interpretation of the Scriptures it is also necessary to delineate its simple history, and to infer from this as from certain facts and principles, the sense of the authors of the Scripture by legitimate inferences." "All knowledge of the Scripture must only be derived from the same," and on this account "nothing must be ascribed to the Scripture as teaching which cannot be fully derived from its history." This history must contain:

1. The nature and peculiarity of the language in which the Scripture is written, and which its authors used to speak.
2. It must contain the sayings of each book and divide them into chapters, so that one finds everything together which may be said on the same subject; it must also note everything which is ambiguous or dark, or occurs to contradict other parts.
3. This history must finally contain the fortunes of all prophetic books, whose memory has come down to us, namely,

the life, character and the aims of the author of every book, who he was, on what occasion, at what time, for whom and in what language he wrote. We must also know the fate of every book, namely, how it was first received, into whose hands it had fallen, how many various readings it contained, at whose suggestion it was received among the sacred books, and finally, how all books which are now generally regarded as sacred have been united to one whole. All this the history of the sacred Scripture must contain; all this is most necessary in order that we may not, impelled by a blind impetus, revere everything which is put before us, but only that which is certain. To make such inquiries Spinoza regards as of the utmost importance because the ancients have entirely neglected them, or if they did write on these subjects, their work has been lost for the most part. And since this fact has induced those who came later to pass off as certain truths the most unfounded opinions on these questions, it is necessary to ascertain as much as possible the true state of things. With these words Spinoza begins the eighth chapter in which he seeks to demonstrate by whom the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Books of Samuel and Kings were written, and inquires whether there were many authors or only one, and who he was.

1. *The Pentateuch.* The Pentateuch, Spinoza says, has generally been regarded as written by Moses, and this opinion was defended by the Pharisees with a terrorism, that every one was regarded as a heretic who seemed to think otherwise. On this account also Ibn Ezra,¹ a man of a liberal mind and of great learning, dared not openly to express his opinion on that point, but did it in such a manner that every one who could see, perceived what he meant.

The passage of Ibn Ezra to which Spinoza alludes, is found in the former's commentary on Deut. 1:12, where we read the following references: "On the other side of the Jordan; if thou shall understand the secret of the twelve, also, and Moses wrote this law, and the Canaanite was then in the land, in the mount-

¹ Ibn Ezra was born about 1088, and died 1167 A. D.

ains of Jehovah he appeared, also behold his bed is a bed of iron, thou shalt recognize the truth."

It is questionable whether Ibn Ezra really meant what Spinoza implies. The former, it is true, speaks somewhat ambiguously, but since Spinoza quotes him as the first who uttered his doubts on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, we shall see what truth there is in this assertion. Spinoza observes the order of the passages alluded to by Ibn Ezra, and explains as follows:

1. Deut. 1:5; "beyond Jordan." If Moses had written these words he would have said on this side of Jordan, since he had never crossed it.¹

2. "The secret of the twelve." This Spinoza explains differently. (a) According to the rabbis the altar consisted of twelve stones; according to Deut. 27:7 seq., and Joshua 8:37, the whole law was to be written on the altar, from which follows that the law of Moses cannot be the same as the Pentateuch which required a larger space.² (b) Perhaps the twelve curses are meant thereby Deut. 27:14-26. (c) Perhaps it refers to Deut. 34, which speaks in twelve verses of Moses' death. The latter exposition seems to be the most simple and probable, for Ibn Ezra remarks on Deut. 34:1, "according to my view Joshua wrote from this verse on, for after Moses had gone up into the mountain, he certainly did write nothing. Joshua wrote this chapter in the spirit of prophecy. The proof is: God showed him (Moses) the land (v. 1); God said unto him (v. 4), and he buried him (v. 5). All this Joshua could only have known as prophet.³

3. Deut. 31:9, "And Moses wrote this law," which supposes another author, who speaks of Moses.

4. Gen. 12:6, "And the Canaanite was then in the land," which points to a post-Mosaic time in which the Canaanites were already driven away. Ibn Ezra does not commit himself. He

¹ Before Spinoza, John Peyrere—born 1594, died 1676, A. D.—in his book "Præ-Adamitæ," makes this also a point for the non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

² That this was not Ibn Ezra's opinion we see from an expression on Deut. 27:1, where he agrees with Saadia, that here only an epitome of the law is meant. On Saadia, comp. my article s. v. in McClintock & Strong's Cyclopedia.

³ What Ibn Ezra here states, that Joshua wrote this last chapter, or in other words that Moses did not write that part, had been already hinted at a very early time. Thus

says: Whether we translate the word '*'az* already, or still, in either case it is a mystery of which one should keep silent.¹

5. Gen. 22:14. Moriah is called the Mount of the Lord, a name which it could only have received after the building of the Temple.

6. In Deut. 3:2, is recorded Og's bed of iron as of some antiquity. Spinoza, with reference to 2 Sam. 12:30, thinks that this bed was found only in the time of David.²

Thus far Ibn Ezra's passages to which Spinoza refers. And it cannot be said that Ibn Ezra denies the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, though it must be admitted that he believed in interpolations, covering this his view with phrases like "there is a

the Talmud *Baba Bathra*, 14a, says that Joshua wrote the last verses of Deuteronomy. In the Clementine Homilies (III. ch. 47) we read: the law was given by Moses, without writing, to seventy wise men to be handed down, . . . but [it was not written] by Moses; for in the law itself it is written, "and Moses died, and they buried him near the house of Phogar, and no one knows his sepulcher till this day." But how could Moses write that Moses died? Abelard (b. 1079, d. 1142 A. D.) raises the question as to who added Deut. 33 and 34, whether Moses in a prophetic spirit or some one else. Le Peyrere sees in the fact that the death of Moses is narrated in the Pentateuch the proof that these five books of Moses are not "Moses' Archetypis," but "Scripti ab alio."

¹ Hobbes (b. 1588, d. 1679 A. D.) in his *Leviathan*, quotes this passage also as a proof of non-Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Prideaux (*The Old and New Testament*, part I., bk. 5, p. 343, ed. 1719) regards this passage as an interpolation made when the Canaanites, having been extirpated by Joshua, were no longer in the land. Huetius (*Demonstratio evangel.*, p. 181) says very naïvely that Spinoza prefers to translate '*'az* by still because it favors his impiety "quod impietati suae favet." Kalisch (*Genesis*, l. c.) says *in loco* "the words 'and the Canaanite was then in the land,' are not nearly so difficult as either hypercriticism or timidity has represented them. For, on the one hand, the translation, 'The Canaanite was still in the land,' is uncalled for, and leads to an erroneous inference. . . . But on the other hand, it requires scarcely a proof, that we have to render these words, 'the Canaanites were already in the land.' . . . It is, hence, obvious how groundlessly even Rabbinical expositors found offence in those words, and modern writers declare them either as a spurious interpolation, or as a certain proof of a very late origin of the Pentateuch."

² Peyrere, l. c., remarks that there would be no object in calling the attention of the people to the bed of the giant whom they had already seen. He says it is far more probable that the historian, in order to secure credence for his narrative, mentions the iron bed as a most certain proof. Hengstenberg and Hävernick think that the bed of iron means a "basaltic sarcophagus."

secret," or "by considering this or that thou shall find the truth."¹ In further proof of non-Mosaic authorship Spinoza adduces also the following passages: Deut. 3:14, the expression "region of Argob" mentioned in v. 13, is explained by the better known one "Jair's tent-villages" or, as the passage reads: "Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the region of Argob, unto the coasts of Geshuri and Mathathi, and called them after his own name, even Bashan, the tent-villages of Jair unto this day." Peyrere already was offended at the expression "unto this day," for Jair himself scarcely possessed any possession in Moses' time. Hence it is evident that the author of this Deuteronomic passage wishes to show from the farthest and most primitive origin how the village of Jair received its name, deriving it from the time of Moses, which was long before his own. Huetius, l. c. p. 183, admits that we must here suppose an interpolation of Ezra, or a gloss which crept into the text. As post-Mosaic Spinoza also regards the name of the place "Dan" mentioned in Gen. 14:14, which, according to Judges 18:29, became only known after Joshua. Huetius, l. c. p. 84, thinks that Ezra may possibly have changed "Laish" into "Dan." Modern apologetes, like Jahn and Hävernick, think that there were two places of the name Dan, one of which is meant in Genesis and Deuteronomy, the other in Joshua and Deuteronomy. The same is also the opinion of Keil (*Introduction*, vol. I, p. 192, Edinburgh, 1869). Strack, the latest commentator on Genesis (*Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, 1892), remarks that Dan stands by prolepsis for Laish (Judges 18:29), or Leshem (Josh. 19:47).

¹ That Ibn Ezra did not deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but believed in interpolations, is the opinion of Maier in his article "Aben-Ezra's Meinung über den Verfasser des Pentateuchs," in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, p. 634 seq.; also cf Riehm, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, I., p. 146; Siegfried, *Spinoza*, 1867, p. 10 seq. Different, however, Curtiss in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1884, p. 8, who says: "When we remember that Graetz affirms that he (Ibn Ezra) had pantheistic tendencies and, along with an almost fanatical orthodoxy, maintained a half-concealed scepticism, ridiculed the mystical interpretation of Solomon's Song, doubted the authenticity of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, and could not take the supernatural accounts of the Bible literally, but had to give them a rationalistic interpretation, we can conclude that Spinoza may not be so far from the truth when he recognizes in Ibn Ezra his forerunner in the denial of the Mosaic authorship."

Spinoza refers to passages in which Moses is not only mentioned in the third person, but which contain things respecting him, as Moses was the meekest of all men (Num. 12:3); Moses was wroth with the officers of the host (Num. 31:14); Moses, the man of God, (Deut. 33:1); Moses, the servant of the Lord, died, and there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses. Spinoza comes to the conclusion that "all this, namely, the manner of speaking, and even the entire connection of the history, make us thoroughly believe that these books were written by another, and not by Moses himself." Spinoza also observes that not only is it related how Moses died, was buried, and that the Hebrews mourned for him thirty days, but also besides this a comparison is made between him, and all the other prophets that arose after him. Such a testimony Moses could neither give to himself, nor could one who immediately followed him, but one who lived many centuries after Moses.

Another point adduced by Spinoza is, that some of the narratives extend beyond the lifetime of Moses. Thus we read (Ex. 16:35) that the children of Israel ate manna forty years, until they came to the land that they were to inhabit, concerning which we find the narrative in Josh. 5:12. Besides we read, Gen. 36:31, "these are the kings who reigned in Edom, before a king reigned over the children of Israel." Without doubt the historian here names the kings which the Idumeans had before David conquered them and placed governors there. From all this Spinoza concludes that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, but by some one who lived many centuries after Moses.

As to the passage, Gen. 36:31, Spinoza is not the first to call attention to it. In his commentary *in loco* Ibn Ezra remarks: "There are those who say that this section was written prophetically, but Isaac says that this section was written in the days of Jehoshaphat." He asserts that Hadar (v. 39), whose wife was Mehetabel, is the same as Hadad (1 Chr. 1:50), the Edomite who is mentioned in 1 Kings 11:14-20, and that Mehetabel is the same as the unnamed sister of Tahpenes, the queen of Egypt, whom Pharaoh gave to Hadad, the contemporary of Solomon,

to wife.¹ Ibn Ezra thinks that Isaac's book ought to be burned. Whoever this Isaac was, whether Isaac ben Jasos of the eleventh century, or Isaac ben Suleiman (d. 940 A. D.), is of no consequence, but Ibn Ezra solves not the difficulty by ridiculing this Isaac when he says, "that the author is rightly called Isaac (laughter), because every one who hears him will laugh at him." Spanheim regards our passage as an interpolation, and Strack l. c. writes: It is certain that the author of the catalogue (*i. e.*, of the kings of Edom, v. 31-39) only wrote after the establishment of the kingship in Israel. Kalisch l. c. remarks: "Certain it is that from very early times those words, 'before a king yet reigned over the children of Israel' have given serious offence to many pious interpreters; they have been regarded by some as a later addition; induced others to reject the whole of this portion (vv. 31-39), and have by others, who supposed they were written in the time of Moses, been given up as hopelessly lost to intelligible explanation. But those who start from the principle of prophetic inspiration will have no difficulty in explaining that phrase." The theory of prophecy is defended by Hengstenberg (*Beitraege III.*, p. 202 seq.), Hävernick (*Specielle Einleitung*, p. 306) and Keil (*Introduction I.*, p. 191).

Spinoza proceeds to examine the books which Moses wrote, and which are cited in the Pentateuch, but which are different from the Pentateuch. From Ex. 17:14, it appears that Moses, at the command of God, wrote a description of the war against Amalek, but in what book does not appear from this chapter. But in Num. 21: 4, a certain book is cited, which is called "*Wars of God*," and in this book doubtless the war against Amalek, besides all the encampments which are attested by the authors of the Pentateuch as having been written by Moses (Num. 33:2) are described. Whilst Spinoza leaves the question open, Peyrere holds that that book (*i. e.*, the Book of the Wars of Jehovah) was neither written by Moses, nor could have been written by him. He believes that Moses wrote commentaries on all the remarkable occurrences, from which, long after Moses' death, this book of the wars of Jehovah was composed, from which finally the book

¹ Comp. Maier in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, p. 639 seq.

of Numbers was taken. Hence the book of Numbers is an apograph from an apograph. What Huetius, l.c. pp. 185-6, opposes to Spinoza that such a suspicious and cautious man who would admit nothing, *nisi id quod ex scripture constat* (Tract. theol.-pol. i. 8) should utter such entirely uncertain things may also be opposed to Davidson (*Introd.* I: p. 113) where he says of the account of Amalek's defeat, that it was transferred to a book, perhaps the book of the Wars of the Lord, mentioned in Num. 21:14, and an itinerary of the Israelites (Num. 33:2).

As a second book, Spinoza mentions *The Book of the Covenant*. This book Moses first read when Israel made the covenant with God. But this book contained but little, namely: The Laws or Commands of God, which are narrated in Ex. 20:22-ch. 24. Spinoza perceived that ch. 20:22 is the beginning of another document, but the supposition that it was the *Book of the Covenant* rests on nothing.

The third book which Spinoza mentions is the *Book of the Law of God*. In the fortieth year after the Exodus Moses explained all the laws which he had given (Deut. 1:5) and pledged the people anew (Deut. 29:14) and finally wrote the book which contained these laws as explained and the new covenant (Deut. 31:9). This is called the "Book of the Law of God," which is afterwards increased by Joshua through the narration of the covenant into which the people entered with God the third time (Josh. 24:25, 26). But since we have no book which contains this covenant of Moses, and at the same time the covenant of Joshua, it must necessarily be conceded that this book has perished. He concludes that this book of the Law of God which Moses wrote was not the Pentateuch, but another work of smaller compass. Finally Spinoza asks: Should Moses not have written some of the laws which he had given during the forty years? To this he replies that the Scripture says nothing of the kind. But he thinks it possible that what he calls the senate (probably the seventy elders) may have communicated the commands of Moses in writing to the people, which a compiler afterwards collected and inserted in order into the life of Moses.

2. *Joshua.* That Joshua did not write this book Spinoza infers from the following: (1) Another writer wrote of Joshua's fame (ch. 6:27); narrates how Joshua left nothing undone of all that Moses had commanded (8:35; 11:15); how he (Joshua) became old, assembled the whole people, and died.

(2) Events are narrated which took place after his death; thus, ch. 24:31, we read: And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders, that overlived Joshua; also ch. 22:10, seq., seems to point at events after Joshua's death, since he is not mentioned at all in the entire narrative.

(3) The formula recurring so often, "unto this day," (ch. 14:14; 15:63; 16:10) shows that a later writer speaks of older times.

(4) From ch. 10:14, "and there was no day like that before it or after it," proves very plainly that the book was written many centuries after Joshua.

If Joshua has written any book at all it can only be the book of *Jasher* (ch. 10:13).

3. *Judges.* That the book of Judges was written by the judges, no sane man, as Spinoza says, will assert, for the epilogue in ch. 21 shows that it was written by only one author. Besides, the formula "in those days there was no king in Israel," points to a time in which there were kings already. Hobbes thinks that our book was written after the captivity of the ten tribes, and this he infers from ch. 18:30.

4. *Samuel.* The Books of Samuel extend history beyond Samuel's death. Especially 1 Sam. 9:9 points to a very late time of composition: "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the seer, for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer."

5. *Kings.* The Books of Kings point themselves to other sources; 1 Kings 9:29: "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah;" 1 Kings 14:19: "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel;" 1 Kings 11:41: "Book of the Acts of Solomon."

[To be continued.]

SCHULTZ'S OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.¹

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Dr. Schultz is a noted German scholar, who is held in high esteem, both by conservative and radical biblical students. It is thought by many that he has succeeded in discovering the golden mean between the extremists in Old Testament discussions.

We deal with the first two of the twenty chapters of this remarkable book.

"Biblical Theology" is a much misunderstood term. Biblical theology, properly understood, presents the facts of revealed religion, just as they existed in the different periods of its growth. Hence the task of biblical theology is purely historical. In searching the books of Holy Scripture for these facts of biblical theology, we do not assume that the religious and moral material of the Bible is all of equal excellence. We assume nothing. These questions are to be answered by a careful investigation of the facts.

Biblical theology is, of course, closely connected with exegesis. We must know exactly what a biblical book means, in order to get its contribution to biblical theology. To do this in a way to win the assent of all is impossible at present, because there is not entire agreement as to the date, and authorship, and structure of the biblical writings. Indeed, the debatable ground has rather been widened by the very latest investigations.

Biblical theology is also connected with systematic theology. Systematic theology has not enough recognized that

¹ *Old Testament Theology.* By Dr. Hermann Schultz. Translated by Rev. J. A. Patterson. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. New York: Scribners. 2 Vols. Price \$6.00 net.

there has been progress in revelation. Systematic theology aims to present, as a harmonious whole, the religious teachings of Old Testament, New Testament and the Christian church. Biblical theology makes no effort to harmonize truths. It simply presents the moral and religious life of a period as it was at that time. It by no means asserts that every religious teaching of the Old Testament is a harmonious part of Christian doctrine. The religious life and teaching of David's time, for example, was but a step in the process of religious development, which at last would lead to a perfect religion, Christianity. The most that can be said is, that in each period the germ of Christianity was present. But it was hid, and it was only in germ. As a matter of fact no Old Testament conception is entirely Christian. Christianity must set every one of them in a new light, and perfect them. And it is sad to see men try to make out that such men as Jacob and David lived up to the standard of morality which Christ taught. And it is sadder yet to lower the Christian standard, so as to make Jacob appear in a better light.

Biblical theology has nothing to do with church history. We see in Jesus the Messiah. He lived the perfect life. The church has not reached his standard, much less passed on beyond it. The result is that the best church and Christian life is but the unfolding of the life of Christ in the believer. The Bible is not merely the beginning of Christian literature. It is the classical standard of such literature for all time.

But biblical theology has much to do with the history of Israel, especially with the religious history of Israel. Indeed, the religious history of Israel is the important part of her history, because Israel was *the* religious people. Biblical theology is also connected with archaeology, because that science has to do, not only with Israel's domestic, social, and legal relations, but also with morals and worship.

Biblical theology is therefore entitled to a place by itself in the separate departments of theology. In it the student arrives at definite results. It clears the way for systematic theology, by showing exactly what sort of thing primitive Christianity was

This service helps us also to test the church methods and doctrines of every and any period.

Accordingly we must proceed to ascertain precisely what the moral and religious principles of Israel were at the different periods of her history. To get the facts there must be, first of all, a careful sifting of documents, with reference to the time in which they were written. We must apply purely historical tests, unmoved by prejudices of any kind. Yet it is useless to study Israel's history, except one is in living sympathy with the spirit of her religion.

The sources for the study of biblical theology are the books of Holy Scripture and only those. These books we may appeal to, as giving us an account of the real religious history of Israel, and not merely its outer shell. Some writers, indeed, believe that the leaders of Israel had a secret and deeper religion, not known to the people, and not recorded in the Old Testament. As a matter of fact, however, such men as Isaiah and the Deuteronomist, who must have been of the "initiated," if there were a secret faith, preach precisely the same religion as the rest, and that with simplicity and candor. The idea that the leaders of Israel had an esoteric religion, is a mere phantom of the imagination.

It may be that these writers accommodated themselves to popular views, in a measure. This is not strange. Symbol and parable are in constant use, except in the language of science. But the religious zeal of these men makes it certain that, after all, they meant to express to the people their own deepest convictions. The Old Testament records are, then, the real records of the best and richest religious experience of the nation.

The biblical writings include every form of literature used by the Hebrews. There is not much, however, of the philosophical element. The language usually is popular, even in the law and prophets. Ecclesiastes, however, is philosophical. It is easy to trace the development of revealed religion in the historical, legal, and prophetic sections. But it is more difficult to do this in the pieces which are poetical. Some of the poetry is really secular, as Canticles, and it requires keen spiritual insight to

detect the religious element in this book. It is difficult, also, in the "vision" and "symbol" and "parable" always to discriminate accurately between the mere form and the real meaning. In fact, only the man who has an instinct for poetical expression will avoid innumerable blunders.

Biblical theology finds even more difficulty with the historical books, because we cannot be sure that they are of equal historical credibility. The most devout and spiritual writer cannot be scientifically accurate as a historian if he is far separated from the events he describes, and has no trustworthy documents to draw from. If he is hundreds of years from the events he narrates he may give an accurate description of the general condition of such times, but he cannot give a detailed account of the religious coloring of those ages, and that is precisely what biblical theology most requires. Kings and Judges are, therefore, trustworthy records of the times of which they treat, and while Chronicles are not useful for an enquiry into the religion of David's time, they are very valuable for understanding the state of religion at the close of the Persian period. Hence a book is not less valuable by not being a strictly accurate narrative of a given period. It may be invaluable as throwing light, incidentally, upon the customs of the time in which it was written.

Here we are confronted with the question: Are there legends and myths in the Bible? And before we give a hasty denial, we should define legend and myth. First, as to legend. When a nation emerges from prehistoric times it always brings with it, as a precious spiritual treasure, the national legend concerning its origin and ancestry, and first deeds. History, strictly so called, is unknown and unnecessary at such early epochs. These things are handed down in song, and proverb, and story. It must be that when the memory of a period is transmitted orally, these traditions should wreath around the early heroes garlands of spontaneous poetry. But this is very far from being fiction or falsehood, even though it is not sober, scientific history. Legend always has history as a kernel, and in legend the chief figures are always types, models of the nation's character. Thus the

legend lets us into the innermost heart of a nation. In legend one sits by the hearth in a people's home, and listens to the very breathing of its inner life.

Did Israel have legends? Necessarily so. Have some of them been preserved in the Scriptures? Either that, or history has been miraculously revealed to the writers. Is this natural? How could genuine piety help a man to a special knowledge of historical facts? Certainly it does not do so now. And if facts were thus miraculously revealed, what was the use of original documents, and the testimony of eye witnesses, on which biblical writers lay such emphasis?

Really this idea is due to the notion that a legend is not a fit vehicle to convey religious truth. But is this a fact? Certainly an exact history is not, thereby, a suitable medium for the revelation of God's will. Josephus and Tacitus are not to be put into the canon, because they give an accurate account of Jews or Christians. Why is a book put into the canon? Because it places us in contact with the growth of revealed religion. The Holy Spirit excludes deceit and lying, but he does not require a method of writing history which is unknown to the people of the time. The ancient world cared little for exact details, but everything for the great principles exemplified in the history. And the Holy Spirit does not exclude ignorance of petty details. This same Spirit used Luther, though he was not the equal of Humboldt in scientific knowledge. He used Augustine though he was not the equal of Sallust as an historian. The historical instinct is not the highest gift. It did not teach Tacitus the ways of God. It is the spirit of revelation which illuminates the religious life, and gives consciousness of the will of God, that is most to be desired.

Now the dominant ideas of a people express themselves in their legends; and these legends are due to the really creative minds within that people. Hence the legends of Israel must have been shaped by the Spirit of God working in Israel's men. The religious leaders of Israel were also the men who produced and gave form to its legends. Really the Spirit of God can speak through legend better than through history. The legend

reveals Israel as it actually was. It shows her model characters. For giving us a knowledge of the religion of the age out of which it springs, legend is the most valuable material we possess.

Legend has to do with history, myth has to do with doctrine —with thoughts about the essence of the world we behold.

The proper time for forming myths is when languages are growing. Myth and language arise together. Myths are usually closely connected with legends, and come out of remote antiquity. It is plain that Israel was not poorer than her neighbors in the possession of myths, which are, indeed, among the noblest possessions of early peoples, and there is no reason why some of these myths may not have been preserved in the Bible. Israel took up the common mythical ideas concerning the origin of earth and man and saturated them with true and enduring beliefs concerning God, the world and man. It was only when Israel ceased to grow, that she ceased to appropriate and utilize the myth.

When Israel took up these myths, she at once reproduced them from within and purified them, making them to be revelation myths. The earlier myths of the Persians and Chaldeans are very similar to the early Bible stories. But in religious character, they are as different as the Chaldean and Jewish religions. In the Old Testament the myth is "born again by the creative power of a self-revealing God." (*Riehm*).

This revelation myth is the most appropriate of all dresses in which to present the true religion. It speaks straight to the heart. For the deepest intellect it is deep. For the child it is winning and simple. It is the brightest gem in the Old Testament. It is plain that the narratives of the times before Moses are legendary. This is clear from the fact that it is a time prior to all knowledge of writing in Israel, when, indeed, writing was only beginning to come into use in Egypt. It is also plain that these narratives are legendary from the superhuman proportions assigned to time and power, and the easy tolerance of contradiction. These early narratives in Genesis are perfectly natural as legends, but as history they are very perplexing and inconceivable.

The first three chapters of Genesis have become revelation myths. The stories about creation, the primeval condition of man, and the fall are myths, that is, the religious ideas only remain in the narrative. This is best shown by those expositors who accept the narratives as history, and yet do not succeed in getting out of them any other meaning than the advocates of the mythical view.

The result may be outlined as follows : Genesis is a book of sacred legend with a mythical introduction. From Abraham to Moses we have national legend, mixed with a variety of mythical elements. From Moses to David we have history, still mixed with a great deal of the legendary, and even partly with mythical elements. From David onwards we have history with no more legendary elements in it than are everywhere present in history written by the ancients.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Fourth or Advanced Course in Hebrew by correspondence covers the three post-exilic prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, in a very thorough way. Each of the twenty lessons includes the careful study of the text of about one chapter, the lexicographical study of ten selected words, the explanation by references of ten of the most difficult forms and ten constructions, a list of special expressions for interpretation, several topics for general and exegetical study, a lesson in the *Elements of Syntax*, in Hebrew accents, and in the *Vocabularies*, and finally a series of questions for a recitation paper by the student, in which the results of his work are summed up and expressed in written form for the criticism of the instructor.

The course has proved a very useful one, and nearly all who have finished or are now pursuing it are enthusiastic over the benefit they have derived from it.

Rev. C. F. Partridge says of the course: "It has been very pleasant and profitable." Professor C. K. Crawford: "I feel that it has been of great benefit to me, and only regret that there isn't more of it." Rev. W. D. Akers: "I have found great pleasure in the study. It has been valuable to me, not only in giving me some knowledge of Hebrew and of the Word of God, but in the mental drill." Rev. G. M. W. Carey: "I have derived great benefit from the study. The Bible is far more of a living book to me now." Rev. David Price: "I am very glad I took the course. I never before got so much out of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. This course has made them living books to me. I could make but very little homiletic use of them previous to my taking this course. I have preached a number of sermons from them, and I have the seeds of a number more. The study has already paid for itself."

The above are only specimens of the universal testimony.

The following have finished the course within the past few months:

Rev. Professor C. K. Crawford, Danville, Ky.

Rev. W. D. Akers, Jonesboro, Tenn.

Rev. C. F. Partridge, Brownsville, Vt.

Miss E. S. Colton, Farmington, Conn.

Rev. Wm. Stuart, Dromore West, Co. Sligo, Ireland.

Rev. F. H. Wright, Grand Pré, Nova Scotia.

- Rev. Henry Easson, Latakia, Syria.
Rev. David Price, Isaac's Harbor, Nova Scotia.
Rev. G. M. W. Carey, Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Rev. W. P. Archibald, Cavendish, P.E.I., Canada.
Rev. J. M. Wiggins, Humeston, Iowa.
Rev. W. D. Starkey, Cumberland, Ohio.
Rev. Wiesel Beale, Jackson, Missouri.
Rev. Henry C. Hatcher, Western Bay, Newfoundland.
Rev. J. H. Murphy, Cork, Ireland.
Rev. G. F. Mainwaring, Leechburg, Pa.
Rev. Clarence Finster, Rockford, Mich.

It will be noticed that about one-half of these live outside the United States.

THE May number of the *University Extension World* contained an article entitled "Some Results of Correspondence Work in Hebrew." It is practically a résumé of the work of the Institute in that department of its work which was its original field, and which still remains one of its most important lines of work.

The article enumerates first some general results of Hebrew correspondence study. The most important of these are, (1) the testimony which the success of this work has borne to the practicability of genuine scientific work by correspondence; (2) its influence in popularizing the study of Hebrew, and, through that, of the Bible itself in English as well as in its original language; (3) the opportunity which it has afforded to a large number of persons to do a work which would otherwise have been impossible for them to accomplish.

The various classes thus benefited are then briefly mentioned. They are, (a) ministers whose seminary work in Hebrew was unsatisfactory, or who allowed their previous knowledge to be crowded out by the demands of ministerial duties; (b) the large class of seminary-trained ministers who pursued only so-called English courses, of which Hebrew did not form a part; (c) the yet larger class of ministers who entered upon their life-work without special theological preparation; (d) young men preparing for the ministry, who, by the aid of correspondence-study, have been enabled to enter advanced classes in Hebrew in the theological school, thus giving them more time—so much needed—for advanced work in the Old Testament, or in other branches; (e) foreign missionaries to whom further resident study is out of the question; (f) biblical students generally, especially women, who have desired to read the Old Testament Scriptures at first hand, but have lacked either the desire or the opportunity to attend a theological institution, where only until recently a knowledge of Hebrew has been attainable.

Exploration and Discovery.

A NEW FIND IN CHALDÆA.

BY IRA M. PRICE,
The University of Chicago.

There is no cessation of surprises in the Orient. Every attempt on the part of archæologists to uncover the remains of early civilizations has an abundant reward. The last fifteen years in particular have seen the most significant results touching the oldest empire of ancient Chaldæa. They have brought to us antiquities which date back to a time between 3000 and 4000 years before the Christian era. In 1877, M. de Sarzec was sent by the French government as Consul to Bosrah. Having spent several years in the old Nile valley, he very naturally acquired a taste for the relics of antiquity, the remains of ancient peoples.

From Bosrah he penetrated into the swamps of lower Chaldæa, to investigate the mounds which arose here and there like islands out of their morassy surroundings. He braved the pest-dealing fens and the savage Montifek Arabs with an indomitable energy. His constitutional hardihood and political sagacity insured him a high degree of success in his plans of excavation. He began his work on a mound or hill four miles in length, located about four days south of Bosrah and sixty miles north of Mugheir or Ur of the Chaldees. He soon uncovered at this spot the walls of a temple 175 feet long by 100 feet wide with its angles toward the cardinal points. Within these walls he found thirty-six rooms of different forms and sizes. In most of them some objects of genuine archæological interest were picked up. Headless statues, cylinders, door-sockets, bits of fresco work, heads of statues, etc., etc., were among the treasures.

The most interesting facts connected with all of these finds of M. de Sarzec is that they are the first extensive introduction to the oldest known civilizations of the lower Mesopotamian valley. They give us the assurance of the existence of a high state of culture in this valley long centuries before the call of Abraham or the founding of the Assyrian empire. They reveal to us a people with a beautifully constructed language, an elaborate ritual of worship, well-organized armies, and an advanced state of development in the cultivation of the arts. In short, the occupants of the cities which are covered

(but now partly excavated) at Tello represent a very ancient, thrifty, progressive, skillful and highly developed people.

Among the finds of M. de Sarzac of intensest interest was the *stèle* of the vultures, so called because of the birds which hover above the scenes. Its life-like and truly artistic figures aroused universal attention among scholars of the past. But now this broken and almost ruined *stèle* has been completed by the discovery of three new fragments, making it the most remarkable known specimen of the work of the artists of ancient Chaldæa.

This monument has figures upon both its sides. One of the scenes represents a funeral after a battle or a thanksgiving after a victory. The mass of slain human bodies shows the mortality which was visited upon the armies. We see also an ox provided for sacrifice to the deity. On one fragment, E-anna-du, the king is on his chariot at the head of his troops, who are arranged in six ranks, armed with lances and peculiar rectangular shields. The king is in the act of piercing with a lance a defeated enemy, though the scene is somewhat uncertain because of the damaged character of the fragment. The chariot is a set of panels curiously put together, on the front of which hang a battle-axe and a quiver of arrows. The attire of the king is of great interest, while the weapons he carries are compared by M. Heuzey to those displayed by the leader of the Amu band pictured at Beni-Hassan, which entered Egypt in the XIIth dynasty.

I can mention only one other figure of interest. Under the principal character is a very significant scene. There is a large net within which is a number of naked men crawling about to find a way of escape. Their features are similar to others in another place under the feet of E-anna-du, probably representing captives of the same people. This scene has been compared with Habakkuk 1: 15-17, where he says: "He taketh up all of them with the angle, he catcheth them in their net, and gathereth them in his drag. Therefore he rejoiceth and is glad. Therefore he sacrificeth unto his net and burneth incense unto his drag. Shall he therefore empty his net and not spare to slay the nations continually?"

A few lines of inscriptions tell us that *E-anna-du* was king of *Shirpurla*, son of *A-kur-gal* and grandson of *Ur-nina* of the most ancient Chaldæan kings—dating from a time at least 1000, possibly 2000, years before the call of Abraham.

These finds tells us that Abraham was not a barbarian, but was nurtured in the midst of one of the greatest civilizations of his day. He had the culture and refinements, the results of long ages of development, which, with faith in Jehovah, sent him on his way to large and ennobling victories for truth and righteousness.

Synopses of Important Articles.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY. V. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS—
ITS AIM. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*
for May, 1893.

The traditional opinion that Paul had no other desire or purpose in writing this epistle than to draw up an adequate statement of the Christian faith does not accord with the historical spirit of modern exegesis. What the precise situation was it may be difficult, or even impossible, to determine. The letter certainly deals with a phase of the Judaistic controversy, and *a priori* one could tell that it would be that phase not yet considered in the other controversial epistles, viz., the prerogative or primary of Israel. In the then existing condition this question must inevitably come up for discussion. If the Judaists could not nip Christianity in the bud by compelling Gentile converts to comply with Jewish customs, nor cripple the movement by assailing Paul's apostleship and character, the only course open would be to enter a protest in the name of the elect people, and pronounce the evangelization of the Gentiles a wrong done to Israel. It is to such a temper that Paul addresses himself in chapters 9–11. Being a man of Christlike spirit, he could not treat it with silent contempt. He would do his utmost to prevent a chronic alienation from issuing in ultimate separation. The disaffected party must be treated in the kindest spirit. Hence the absence of a controversial tone in this letter, and its broad comprehensive method. The famous chapters just referred to do not form the kernel of the epistle, as Baur held, nor an appendix, as the dogmatists teach, but an integral part of one great whole. The first eight chapters deal with the larger, more general claims of Christianity; the next three deal with the less important, narrower question as to the real value of Israel's claim. Both sections are essential to the apostle's purpose and course of thought. What he says is this: "Christianity is a universal religion. It is needed by the world at large, by Gentiles and by Jews alike; for both heathenism and Judaism, judged by their practical results, are failures. Christianity is not a failure. It solves the problem aimed at by all religion; brings men into blessed relations with God, and makes them really righteous. Christianity, therefore, must have free course: no prescriptive rights can be allowed to stand in its way. As for the Jewish people, I am heartily sorry for them. They are my countrymen, they are also God's people. But their right is not absolute, and they deserve to forfeit it. Yet I do not believe they are

permanently doomed to forfeiture. God will continue to love them, and in the course of his beneficent providence will give effect to their claims in a way compatible with Christian universalism and with Gentile interests." Were the Judaistic tendencies the real though hidden foe which Paul antagonized, to be found within the church of Rome, or without, and threatening to invade that church; or merely in Paul's own mind, prompt to conceive new possible forms of antagonism, or to find solutions of all religious problems arising out of the Pauline conception of Christianity? All three views have found influential advocates. The third, advocated by Weiss, seems hardly probable, as one fails to see why he should trouble others with his thoughts on the comparatively speculative topic of the prerogatives of Israel, if nobody was stirring the question. If, as seems probable, the membership of the Roman Church was mainly of Gentile extraction, how natural that men connected with the Judaistic propaganda should regard with envy and chagrin a flourishing Christian community in the capital of the empire! What more likely than that they should make a desperate attempt to win this church over to their side. If such a fact came to the apostle's knowledge it may have determined him on writing the epistle as a means of frustrating, by anticipation, the sinister scheme. Whatever may have been the composition of the membership, mainly Gentile or mainly Jewish, the one thing indispensable is to grasp firmly the fact that the epistle was meant to deal with Jewish jealousy awakened by the progress of Gentile evangelization; and that the Roman Church was in some way connected with it may be inferred from the simple fact of the epistle, which handles the topic, being addressed to it. Subordinate ends the writer doubtless had, such as the one arising out of his mission plans,—making Rome the natural base of operations for a visit to Western Europe. Nor is it an altogether idle fancy that in composing this remarkable letter the apostle's mind was influenced by the thought that he was writing to a church having its seat in *Rome*. The epistle is truly imperial in style. It breathes a spirit of truly imperial ambition. The writer aspires to the conquest of the world. He believes in no unconquerable enemies. He will have all men be saved, all peoples reconciled to God and to one another; Jew and Gentile united in a common brotherhood, and living peaceably together under the benign rule of King Jesus.

P. A. N.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: VI. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS—THE TRAIN OF THOUGHT. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for June, 1893.

The theme of the first eight chapters is "the gospel of God," for the whole world, needed by all men, available for all who will receive it in the obedience of faith, and thoroughly efficient in the case of all who so receive it. The apostle enters at once on an explanation of the nature of this gospel. "Therein is revealed a righteousness of God from faith to faith." Two

things are indicated in this Pauline expression,—that the gospel is saving through *faith*, and that it is a *universal* gospel. Having proclaimed that salvation is of faith, the apostle shuts up all men to faith by demonstrating the universality of sin. The repulsive picture of human depravity presented in this section (chaps. 1:18–3:20) is necessary to the argument, for if sin be universal, if all distinctions disappear in the presence of the one all-embracing category, *sinners*, then there is no reason why the way to God's grace should not be equally open to all. But in order to make men feel the need of this grace, it was necessary to call forth the slumbering conscience into vigorous action by an unshrinking portrayal of the abominable vices practiced among the Gentiles. But the indictment against the Jews presents a more delicate task, for here the apostle deals with those who regard themselves as righteous. Therefore he begins with a statement amounting to a charge of hypocrisy, for he tells the Jews that in all essential points they are like the Gentiles, adding to it all the sin of hypocritical censoriousness. In this section Paul proves not simply that the Gentiles and the Jews are great sinners, but that they are such in spite of all in their respective religions that tended to keep them in the right way. He pronounces a verdict not merely on men, but on systems. Both Paganism and Judaism are failures. The pagans had light, but were not faithful to it. The Jews had still more light, and were just on that account the more to be blamed for their misconduct.

Having reached this negative conclusion, he now proceeds to state his positive doctrine of salvation (chaps. 3:21–26). By "the righteousness of God," which is the burden of this epistle, he means a righteousness which God gives to those who believe in Jesus. Great stress is laid on the fact that this righteousness is revealed apart from law, yet law is by no means undervalued or made void, but rather established. In chaps. 4 and 5 a three-fold support to the doctrine of justification by faith is drawn (a) from the history of Abraham (chap. 4); (b) from the experience of the justified (5:1–11); (c) from the history of the human race (5:12–21). Abraham is no exception to the rule that no man is justified by works. His case is in all respects typical. The experience of the justified is one of constant and many-sided exaltation. In respect to the human race it is shown that as sin and death came by one man, so salvation comes through faith in Christ. The law could do nothing to help sin and death-stricken humanity, but rather entered that sin might abound.

Just here Christianity runs the risk of becoming an even more tragic failure than Paganism or Judaism. These, judged by their practical fruits, are found wanting. Can the new religion stand the test? Obviously it must be a matter of life and death for Paul to show that the gospel he preaches will stand it. This is the task he undertakes in chaps. 6–8. Three questions naturally suggest themselves. Since the great matter seems to be that grace

permanently doomed to forfeiture. God will continue to love them, and in the course of his beneficent providence will give effect to their claims in a way compatible with Christian universalism and with Gentile interests." Were the Judaistic tendencies the real though hidden foe which Paul antagonized, to be found within the church of Rome, or without, and threatening to invade that church; or merely in Paul's own mind, prompt to conceive new possible forms of antagonism, or to find solutions of all religious problems arising out of the Pauline conception of Christianity? All three views have found influential advocates. The third, advocated by Weiss, seems hardly probable, as one fails to see why he should trouble others with his thoughts on the comparatively speculative topic of the prerogatives of Israel, if nobody was stirring the question. If, as seems probable, the membership of the Roman Church was mainly of Gentile extraction, how natural that men connected with the Judaistic propaganda should regard with envy and chagrin a flourishing Christian community in the capital of the empire! What more likely than that they should make a desperate attempt to win this church over to their side. If such a fact came to the apostle's knowledge it may have determined him on writing the epistle as a means of frustrating, by anticipation, the sinister scheme. Whatever may have been the composition of the membership, mainly Gentile or mainly Jewish, the one thing indispensable is to grasp firmly the fact that the epistle was meant to deal with Jewish jealousy awakened by the progress of Gentile evangelization; and that the Roman Church was in some way connected with it may be inferred from the simple fact of the epistle, which handles the topic, being addressed to it. Subordinate ends the writer doubtless had, such as the one arising out of his mission plans,—making Rome the natural base of operations for a visit to Western Europe. Nor is it an altogether idle fancy that in composing this remarkable letter the apostle's mind was influenced by the thought that he was writing to a church having its seat in *Rome*. The epistle is truly imperial in style. It breathes a spirit of truly imperial ambition. The writer aspires to the conquest of the world. He believes in no unconquerable enemies. He will have all men be saved, all peoples reconciled to God and to one another; Jew and Gentile united in a common brotherhood, and living peacefully together under the benign rule of King Jesus.

P. A. N.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: VI. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS—THE TRAIN OF THOUGHT. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for June, 1893.

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Notes and Opinions.

Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Psalter.—Rev. Professor T. K. Cheyne writes a short article for the June *Thinker* on “Early Criticism of the Psalter in connection with Theodore of Mopsuestia.” He alludes to the fact that often in the study of the Psalter he has been anticipated in some of his results by this great early theologian and biblical scholar of the Syrian church. In this article he calls attention to the researches of an American scholar, Professor J. Douglas Bruce, of Bryn Mawr, Penn., briefly summed up in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1893, under the heading “Immediate and Ultimate Sources of the Rubrics and Introductions to the Psalms in the Paris Psalter.” “The ‘Paris Psalter’” writes Professor Cheyne, “is an Anglo-Saxon translation of the Psalms, edited by Thorpe, in 1835, from an eleventh century manuscript at Paris, which formerly belonged to the Duc de Berri, brother of Charles V. It contains Psalms 51:6—Ps. 90 in poetry, the remainder being in prose.” The latter portion is considered by some German critics to be a translation by King Alfred. It is to the Latin rubrics prefixed to all the Psalms, and to the arguments in Anglo-Saxon accompanying the rubrics of the prose Psalms that Prof. Bruce calls our attention. The arguments are especially full. In this Early English Psalter, the following advanced critical views are given: “Psalms 19 and 20 (Septuagint numeration), 26–29, 32 and 33 are said to have reference to Hezekiah. Psalms 41 and 42 are said to be utterances of the Jews in Babylon longing for restoration. Psalm 45 is said to be indited in the name of the people of Judah returning thanks for their deliverance from Rezin and Pekah. Psalm 50 has reference in part (this implies the prophetic character of David), to the penitential longings of the Jews in Babylon. Psalms 43 and 46 are even represented in the arguments as referring to the times of the Maccabees. Lastly, in the Latin rubrics, Psalm 60 becomes virtually a Psalm of the Exile, and Psalm 73 of the Maccabees.”

“The question now arises, whence did the writer of the Paris MS. or of the MSS. upon which he ultimately depends, obtain these surprising critical judgments?” Prof. Bruce’s researches throw light on this. He writes, “that the Latin rubrics . . . with the exception of a few cases of adaptation, and still fewer of absolute divergence . . . are taken verbatim from the *argumenta* of the voluminous commentary entitled, *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, and formerly ascribed to the Venerable Bede,” and “that the Anglo-Saxon arguments of the Paris Psalter are simply paraphrases of the same *argumenta*.” Prof. Cheyne continues: “Stimulated by Prof. Bruce’s article I have looked

through the arguments of the Psalms in the Exegesis, and the facts which they reveal are, indeed, extraordinary. Not only is the Exegesis the chief source both of the arguments and of the rubrics referred to, but they both show us an Early English (?) theologian full to overflowing of the critical spirit, which he unites with not a little mediæval mysticism, and when we look a little more closely we see that he is a disciple of the 'Interpreter' *par excellence* of the Syrian Church—Theodore of Mopsuestia. Thus, Psalms 51 and 52 (Septuagint enumeration) are said to be directed against Rabshakeh. Psalm 53 is spoken in the name of Hezekiah. Psalm 54, in the name of the high priest Onias. Psalms 55–59 are Maccabæan. Psalm 60 is a psalm of the Exile. Psalm 61, Maccabæan. Psalms 62 and 64–66, Exilic. Psalms 79 and 82, 107 and 108, Maccabæan. . . . It has already been made probable that the unknown theologian to whom we owe the Exegesis drew from the original Greek of Theodore."

T. H. R.

Gal. 5:8. *ἡ πεισμονή.* The rendering for this whole verse as given in both the authorized and the revised versions is,—“This persuasion cometh not from him that calleth you.” Clement Bird in an interesting note in the June *Expositor* objects to this rendering. It must be admitted that the verse presents difficulty. The word *πεισμονή* is found in but few places. Whether it has the active or passive significance depends in each case on the context. The context here seems to favor the former. “Ye were running well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?” (Some one has been persuading you to another gospel, which indeed is not another gospel but a perversion of the gospel, cf. 1:6-8.) “This persuasion cometh not from him that calleth you.” This perhaps is the best way in English to bring out plainly the thought of the writer. Evidently, as he asks the question of vs. 7, the whole subject of the Galatian Judaizing comes to his mind. This hindering, this persuading of them away from the truth, these enticing words: —this does not come from God. “Who did hinder you?” It was not God. Luther—quoted by Mr. Bird—brings out the idea well. “Paulus . . . indicat hanc persuasionem et doctrinam non esse ex Christo qui vocaverat eos in gratia, sed ex diabolo.” This is the sense as given not only by the English, but also by the German version, “solches Ueberreden,” and by the French, “cette suggestion”; thus following the “persuasio hæc” of the Latin versions,—the Itala and the Vulgate. The use of the demonstrative pronoun may be criticized as not being an exact rendering of the Greek with its definite article. Meyer objects to it as superfluous. Weizsäcker, in his translation, avoids the ambiguity as to active or passive voice that inheres in the Greek and also in the English by using a word of different sense,—*die Lockstimme* (enticing words; lit. alluring voice), at the same time holding with the Greek to the definite article, thus making the terms general. According to this translation, Paul’s thought flashes from the specific case in hand, viz.:

—that of the enticing words and persuasive arguments of the Judaizers to all such enticing, persuasive efforts, and so he puts it—as a “general truth,—persuasive, enticing argument cometh not from God.” Luther brings out this idea aptly in his rendering of 1538, and also in his translation, as found in the German version,—“Such persuasion.”

Practically, if we take *πεισμονή* in direct connection with the preceding verse, it makes no difference in the sense of the passage whether we give to the term the active or the passive meaning. Chrysostom and Theophylact of the Greek Fathers, prefer the passive, also Lightfoot. Beet, in his commentary, well says,—“Grammatically, it might denote either a persuasive influence or surrender to such. Probably the former here. . . . But the difference is very slight. For passive surrender implies active persuasion. The influence to which they yielded is *not from him that calls you*, i. e., God, as in 1:6.” Alford and Ellicott hold to the active sense, also Meyer. The latter remarks that were the word to be taken in the sense of compliance, some more precise definition must have been appended, at least, *ὑμῶν*, *your* persuasion.

Altogether different, however, from these meanings, either active or passive, either of which connects the verse closely with the preceding, is that suggested by Mr. Bird. With his interpretation, the word does not refer directly to the nature of this special sort of persuading of the Judaizers,—its plausibility, its enticing character,—but to the nature of persuasion itself. The word is used generically. Persuasion, *i. e.*, the producing of conviction, or the being brought to conviction, is not of God. Here, as Mr. Bird remarks, the active sense would be preferable. Origen and Theodoret, of the Greek Fathers, are quoted as holding this view. Origen’s words (*contra Celsum* 6:57) are as follows: “Even if the uttering of persuasive arguments comes from God, persuasion at least (*i. e.*, the proper result of persuasive and sound arguments) is not of God; as Paul clearly teaches when he says, ἡ πεισμονή κ. τ. λ.”

Theodoret, in confirming his own exegesis, refers to John 7:37 and Luke 9:23, adding: “For God does not force (belief) by compulsion, but seeks a voluntary assent.” But this rendering gives the verse too little direct connection with the preceding, and is far less natural than the other.

Certainly the weight of authority is for the received rendering, and is indeed, when we consider it, overwhelming. The three great modern versions,—the English, the French, and the German, and most modern commentators, the theologians of the Reformation, the Latin Fathers and the Latin versions, together with many of the Greek Fathers, all support this view. And the reason for this great preponderance of opinion seems to us to be well grounded in the sense of the passage.

T. H. R.

David's Son and David's Lord (Matt. 20:41-46; Mark 12:35-37; Luke 20:41-44).

Professor W. Milligan, D.D., has an article in the June *Thinker* with the above heading. He discusses two points: (1) admitting for the moment that David did not write Ps. 110 referred to in these passages, how is it that Christ ascribed the psalm to him? (2) If the psalm was not David's, is not the argument destroyed?

In regard to the first point, Professor Milligan claims that it would have been very strange for Christ to allude to the non-Davidic authorship of the psalm. He would have been a poor teacher, indeed, thus to divert attention from the point in mind. He refers to the psalm, not for itself, but for its bearing on the matter in hand, viz.; his own Messiahship and the radical difference between his own and the people's conception of the Messiah. As a teacher he addressed himself to their own circle of knowledge. Professor Milligan does not touch at all the authorship of the psalm, leaving that for criticism to determine.

Regarding the second point, Professor Milligan holds that the argument would be valid even if the psalm were not Davidic. The essential thing is that the psalm was acknowledged as inspired. We may substitute, then, some other sacred writer for David, changing the pronoun "his" of the 36th verse, to "David's." The passage (Mark 12:35-37) will then read: "And Jesus answered and said, as he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David? A sacred writer himself said in the Holy Spirit,

The Lord said unto my Lord,
Sit on my right hand,
Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.'

The same sacred writer calleth him Lord; and whence is he David's Son?"

Professor Milligan continues: "The argument will be as follows,—An inspired psalmist called the coming Messiah Lord, applied to him the very same term he had a moment before used of the Great Being from whom his inspiration came. How, then, can one so infinitely superior to David be the son of David, in the sense in which your scribes would have you understand that prophetic designation?"

With Prof. Milligan's premise, the argument, it is true, would still be sound, since the nature of the Messiah is such that he is infinitely superior, not only to the sacred writer, but also to David. The case would be different, however, if it were David himself who were addressed by some contemporary prophet. If the psalm were written in honor of David himself as the one in whom the Messianic kingdom ideally existed, there could be no reference to any relation existing between David and a coming Messiah, and so no comparison between the two. The same would be true if the psalm were

addressed by any later prophet to a contemporary king. The substitution suggested would hold therefore only if it were granted that the one referred to as "My Lord" were directly conceived as being the coming Messiah distinct from David himself or from any other king contemporary with the one writing. Under the suggestion of Prof. Milligan then, the psalm must be directly and immediately Messianic. That it were not Davidic would not affect the argument. But in reality, if we question the Davidic authorship of the psalm, we are quite likely to question also its direct Messianic application, and in that case Prof. Milligan's suggestion would be of a theoretical rather than a practical bearing. It may be added that possibly the validity of the argument as intended by Christ turns on the phrase, "David himself said," vs. 36,—the proof of the Lordship of the Messiah being not in the Lordship itself involved in the superiority of the Messiah over David, but in David's own acknowledgment of the Lordship. The appeal then would be to the testimony of David.

As to the actual authorship of the psalm there is diversity of opinion among scholars. Bishop Ellicott, writing recently for the *Expository Times* a series of articles on "The Teachings of our Lord as to the Authority of the Old Testament," holds the psalm to be Davidic. Perowne, mainly, if not entirely, on the weight of these passages in the gospel, holds the same opinion. Delitzsch maintains it as Davidic. Orelli agrees with Ewald that it was addressed to David by an inspired prophet, perhaps Nathan, the prophet seeing in David the type of the future Messiah. Concerning the bearing of the New Testament passages on the authorship, Orelli writes,—"The pre-supposition of Davidic authorship, universal then (in the time of Christ) cannot give the law to our historic understanding of the psalm."

The question as to the authorship of the psalm, and that as to Christ's conception and use of it, are two questions entirely distinct, and should be considered separately. At the time of Christ the psalm was universally regarded Davidic, as well as directly Messianic. We do not need to assume universal knowledge on the part of Christ. It would not add to our conception of his divinity should we suppose him to have transcended the knowledge of his time and people in questions of literary origins and of scientific truth. His divinity is conditioned on other and entirely different factors. He himself does not claim absolute and universal knowledge. Concerning an epoch in his own Messiahship, in his own history, which he conceives to be most important, viz.,—the time of his second coming,—he says: "But of that day and hour knoweth no one, not even the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only." So reverent and devout a student of the Life of Christ as Neander did not find difficulty in a possible non-Davidic authorship of this psalm.

There is a peculiar significance to this incident narrated in the three gospels. The incident comes at the close of Christ's long continued conflict with

the Pharisees, and is his last word to them before the final words of denunciation. Matthew best brings out the significance. "What think ye of the Christ?" The people expect a Messiah who shall be Son of David in lineage, and greater than David in power. Jesus, while Son of David in lineage, is conscious of himself as Son of God, and it is as Son of God, not Son of David, that he is Messiah. In the psalm quoted the spiritual element in the Messiah is recognized in the Priest King—"Priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." In the conception of the psalmist the ideal of the nation is realized, for that army by which the Messiah wins his victory is an army in "holy attire," an army of priests. Conceived as this psalm was by the people and by Christ, it was admirably suited to bring out the thoughts of Christ. The vast difference between the popular conception of the Messiah and Christ's own conception was the difference between these two conceptions,—Son of David, Son of God. It was the former of these conceptions that Jesus had rejected at the very beginning of his ministry. The temptations of the wilderness are those that came to him in his consciousness as Son of God. It is the sense of this Sonship that is central all through his ministry, and that is revealed in the Synoptic as well as in the Johannine narrative. "Art thou the Son of God," is the question of the High Priest, to which he gives assent so soon after this very question of his own. These pointed questions, then, as given by Matthew, "What think ye of the Christ? Whose Son is he?" coming as they do at the conclusion of his intercourse with the Pharisees, reveal the radical difference between their conception of the Messiah as the Son of David, and his own conception and knowledge of himself as the Son of God.

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

THE workers are still working ; so the Chautauqua assemblies tell us.

PRESIDENT KOZAKI, of the Doshisha, Kioto, Japan, has been granted by the trustees a year's leave of absence for travel and study. He will study at New Haven. He hopes, also, while in this country, to secure funds for the endowment of the collegiate and theological departments of the school.

THE first complete Syriac Bible issued by the Bible Society in this country, has just been printed at the Bible House, New York. This is a revision of the Syriac Old Testament published in Urumiah in 1852, and of the New Testament published by the American Bible Society. This present revision was made by the Rev. Dr. Labaree, assisted by native scholars of Urumiah.

JUNE *Biblia* quotes the Rev. Prof. Owen C. Whitehouse as follows : "A well-balanced criticism of the Old Testament must ever take increasing account of the results of Semitic Archæology. Important as are the results achieved during the last half century by the higher criticism in analysis of the documents of the Old Testament, the results to be achieved in the future for the Old Testament itself by the spade of the antiquarian and the acumen of the Semitic philologist are likely to be greater still."

PROFESSOR JAMES H. KIRKLAND, of Vanderbilt University, was recently elected Chancellor of the same, to succeed Dr. L. C. Garland, who resigned two years ago. The new chancellor was born in South Carolina in 1859. He graduated from Wofford College, Spartansburg, his native home, in 1877, and for six years was tutor and assistant professor of Greek in that institution. In 1885 he received the degree of Ph.D. from Leipzig, and was elected Professor of Latin in Vanderbilt, with which university he has since that time been connected.

CONCERNING Bible revision in India, Rev. H. C. Schmidt, D.D., of the Lutheran Church, writes as follows to *The Independent* : "A company of five missionaries and two native Christians met recently at Madras, at the call of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society, to consider the question of securing a successor to Dr. John Hay, who had had general charge of the work of revision, but had been unable to complete the work before his death. He left the last revision of the New Testament and about one-fifth of the work on the Old Testament uncompleted. After some discussion it was decided to

press on the New Testament work, that the Telugus might have it as soon as possible, and to leave the choice of a successor and the work on the Old Testament till August."

AT Brantford is the New England Institute for the Christian and secular education of the Indians. It is supported by an English endowment resulting from church collections for Christian work among the Indians, made in the time of Oliver Cromwell. A number of interesting relics are preserved there, among them the large Bible presented by Queen Anne in 1712 to the Mohawk chief who visited Britain in that year. It was printed in 1701. In the old church, built in 1783, is the great bell, cast in 1785, brought from England in that year by Chief Brant, whose tomb is near by. The Canadian Presbyterian Assembly recently convened here.

DR. DALMAN, of the University of Leipzig, has published a statistical summary of the status of the societies engaged in work among the Jews. In England there are 9 Jewish missionary societies, in Scotland 6, in Ireland 1, making a total of 16 societies, employing 334 men, at 84 stations, with an income of 1,602,100 marks during the last twelve months. Germany has more societies than Great Britain—viz., 18,—but does much less work, employing only 12 men at 8 stations, and having an income of only 62,475 marks. Some of these societies do no work of their own, but simply coöperate with others. Switzerland has but 1 society. The Netherlands have 3; France 2; Sweden and Norway 4; Denmark 1; Russia 4, with 5 men at 4 stations, and an income of 30,400 marks. The United States 8, with 26 men at 16 stations, and an income of 130,800 marks. Palestine has 2; Australia 1, with 1 man at 1 station. Grand total, 55 societies, 399 missionaries, 127 stations, income 1,835,325 marks.

WE are always glad to learn of the success of the inductive method in Bible study. It is the most difficult method, and yet the easiest. It is the life method, and is often unconsciously employed, even though the textbook before the class is of the old style. Our report is from Pataha City, Washington. Rev. John T. Nichols writes: "The Sunday school has been studying the Life of Christ by the Inductive method. The result has been a gain in numbers and the quality of work done." Not directly bearing on this, but perhaps associated with it, through likeness of method and spirit, is the following, from the same report: "The 11th of June was a red-letter day for the whole community. * * * The regular children's day exercises were in the evening and were the best we have ever had, a large congregation attending both services. The children have become so proficient in singing and recitation, by the drill received in Sunday school during the past two years, that outsiders come from long distances to attend such exercises."

PROF. VON HOLST, in a recent address at Chautauqua, said that to him, and indeed to any foreigner coming here, one of the most interesting and

remarkable of phenomena was the Chautauqua Assembly. That so many people will take the vacation period for actual work, for real study, is a surprising fact. Herein is seen the truth of the often repeated observation that it is not merely cessation from work but change of work that rests. Sometimes absolute cessation from all work is the only means of rest. At other times a change of labor rests quite as much as, if not more than, entire inactivity. And if, as in the case of the Chautauqua Assembly, the change of work is accompanied by change of scene, by physical recreation, by the stimulus of new ideas, new faces, new opportunities, the success of the Chautauqua gatherings, coming as they do in the mid-summer, the vacation period, is largely accounted for. Indeed they would hardly be possible at any other period. People then have their few weeks of leisure, and perhaps the great majority of those who attend these assemblies need just this stimulus, just this kind of change that Chautauqua gives. Thoughtful people, people of busy lives, of much work,—they here find that larger horizon, that intellectual and spiritual stimulus and uplift, that newness and freshness of incident, which Chautauqua so uniquely gives,—and besides this, and very important these summer days, the invigorating influence of open air, of grove, and lake.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

THE time for the holding of the Parliament of Religions in connection with the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago is drawing near. The date set is September 11 to 27; the place, the Hall of Columbus, in the Art Palace, on the Lake Front. Few thoughtful people can contemplate the prospect of this unique gathering without a feeling of intense, almost anxious, interest, mingled with profound gratitude and joy. The scenes will be memorable. The possibilities for good or ill are beyond calculation.

THE committee having in charge the organization of this Parliament consists of eminent representatives of religious bodies of the city of Chicago. Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., of the Presbyterian Church, is chairman, and upon him has fallen the major part of the work of arrangement and correspondence. The other members of the committee are as follows: Rt. Rev. Bishop Wm. E. McLaren, D.D., D.C.L., Rev. Prof. David Swing, vice-chairmen; His Grace Archbishop P. A. Feehan, Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D., Rev. Wm. M. Lawrence, D.D., Rev. F. M. Bristol, D.D., Rabbi E. G. Hirsch, Ph.D., Rev. A. J. Canfield, D.D., Rt. Rev. Bishop C. E. Cheney, D.D., Rev. M. Ranseen, Rev. J. Berger, Mr. J. W. Plummer, Rev. J. C. Torgersen, Rev. L. P. Mercer, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones. "Two years of incessant work," according to Dr. Barrows' statement, have been required to bring the idea within the bounds of reality and assured success. All sorts of obstacles had to be overcome. Christian and non-Christian people, alike looked with some questioning, if not suspicion, upon the principles and motives underlying the conception of such a gathering as well as upon the results which would be likely to come from it.

THE statement sent forth by the committee was calculated to reassure doubting minds. "They desire to accomplish the greatest possible good and to unite all those who believe that such a Congress as has been outlined will promote the best interests of mankind. They desire to deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among the religious men of diverse faiths, to set forth what are deemed the important distinctive truths taught by each religion; to indicate the impregnable foundations of theism and the reasons for man's faith in immortality; to strengthen the forces adverse to materialism; to inquire what light each religion may afford to the others; to furnish an accurate account of the present outlook of religion; to throw all possible light on the solemn problems of the present age, and to bring the nations of the earth into more friendly fellowship."

UP to the present time but two religious bodies have persisted in holding aloof, and have officially signified their unwillingness to sanction the idea of the Parliament of Religion. These are the Church of England, and the Mohammedan Church, of which the Sultan of Turkey is the head. The Archbishop of Canterbury states the position of the former body thus: "The difficulties which I myself feel are not questions of distance and convenience, but rest on the fact that the Christian religion is the one religion. I do not understand how that religion can be regarded as a member of a Parliament of Religions without assuming the equality of the other intended members, and the parity of their position and claims. Beyond this, while I understand how the Christian religion might produce its evidences before any assembly, a 'presentation' of that religion must go far beyond the question of evidences, and must subject to public discussion that faith and devotion which are its characteristics, and which belong to a region too sacred for such treatment."

ON the other hand, the greatest interest and enthusiasm on the subject has been manifested from all sides. It is striking how favorable have been the responses from the Christian missionaries. Rev. George D. Marsh, missionary of the American Board at Philippopolis, Bulgaria, writes of the Parliament: "It is *Christian* in its intent, spirit, and daring. It is *aggressive* Christianity in its readiness to use all means that make for righteousness, peace, and the good of all men. It is *catholic* Christianity in its longing to meet all men and to do them good. It is *apostolic* Christianity in its purpose to 'look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.'" Rev. George T. Candlin, of Tientsin, China, writes: "I am deeply impressed with the momentous consequences of your undertaking, in its relation to Christian missions among the great and ancient faiths of the Orient, and if a thoroughly practical character can be imparted to it, I foresee as its result a great enlightenment of missionary sentiment at home and a grand reform of mission methods on the field, which, once realized, would inaugurate a new era of missionary success and restore the unlimited hope, fervor, and triumph of apostolic days."

THE plans for the Parliament provide for a progressive discussion of great religious themes. A condensed statement of the immense field to be covered will be sufficient to make it clear how valuable these gatherings will be to the student of religion. Sept. 11th, Addresses of Welcome and Fraternal Fellowship. Sept. 12th, *God*. Sept. 13th, *Man*. Sept. 14th, *Religion Essentially Characteristic of Humanity*. Sept. 15th, *Systems of Religion*. Sept. 16th, *Sacred Books of the World*. Sept. 17th, *Religion and the Family*. Sept. 18th, *The Religious Leaders of Mankind*. Sept. 19th, *Religion in its Relations to Natural Sciences and to Arts and Letters*. Sept. 20th, *Religion in its Relations to Morals*. Sept. 21st, *Religion and Social Problems*. Sept. 22d, *Religion and Civil Society*. Sept. 23d, *Religion and the Love of Mankind*. Sept. 24th, *The Present Religious Condition of Christendom*. Sept.

25th, *Religious Reunion of Christendom*. Sept. 26th, *The Religious Union of the Whole Human Family*. Sept. 27th, *Elements of Perfect Religion*, as recognized and set forth in the different Historic Faiths. Characteristics of the Ultimate Religion. What is the Center of the Coming Religious Unity of Mankind?

As THE date approaches for the opening of the Parliament more definite details respecting the attendance and speakers are determined. "Nearly fifteen hundred men, eminent in the realm of religion, have accepted places on the Advisory Council." Among general statements made by the committee concerning the attendance is the following: "The religious world in its great branches will be represented in this truly ecumenical conference. There will be Buddhist scholars, both from Japan and India, and probably also from Siam. One of the high priests of Shintoism is expected to be present. Two Moslem scholars, eminent in India, have accepted invitations. Arrangements are being made to secure papers from orthodox Hindus. The Chinese Government has commissioned a scholar to represent Confucianism. It is expected that Parsees from Bombay will speak of their ancient faith. Jewish Rabbis of Europe and America are in earnest sympathy with this movement. The interest in the Exposition and the approaching Congress will draw to Chicago numerous representatives of the historic religions. Leading Christian missionaries and native Christians of many lands will be present, including some of the foremost men of India. Prominent scholars in America, England and Germany have already accepted invitations to address the Parliament. We are encouraged to hope that the Russian, Armenian and Bulgarian Churches will have representation in the Parliament."

THE BIBLICAL WORLD is enabled, through the kindness of the Chairman of the Committee, to give the names of many of the eminent speakers who will be heard in the Parliament, as well as to announce more definitely than the above general statement, the latest results of the Committee's work.

Count A. Bernstorff, of Berlin, will respond for Germany to the addresses of welcome. Prof. Ganendra Nath Chakrararti, of Allahabad College, a full-blooded, high-caste Brahmin, is about to sail from India to attend the Parliament. He is a great scholar, and a master of English as well as of Sanscrit. Two noble papers on "Hinduism," are written by the famous scholar, Manilal N. Devivedi, of Bombay. The Jains of Bombay have commissioned a representative to attend the Parliament. Mr. Mozoomdar, of Calcutta, will speak for the Brahmo-Somaj. Prize essays on Confucianism and Taoism have been prepared and sent from China. Mr. H. Dharmapala, Secretary of the Buddhist Society of Southern India, will soon sail from Columbo to attend the Parliament. Several eminent Christian natives of India will be present. The delegation of Buddhists from Japan has been increased of late. Hon. Pung Kwang Yu, First Secretary of the Chinese Legation at Washington, is preparing a paper by direction of the Imperial Government of China on "Con-

fucianism." Several Christian Sinologists will be present. The learned Dr. Faber, of Shanghai, is already in Chicago, and will attend the Parliament. Prof. T. W. Rhys-Davids, of the Royal Asiatic Society, has finally sent word that he will be in Chicago during the Parliament, and will speak on "Buddhist Ethics." Prof. E. Hardy, of the University of Freiburg, is also expected. He is to read a paper on "The History and Present State of the Study of Comparative Religion." Mgr. De Harlez, of the University of Louvain, will also speak on Comparative Religion. Dr. Washburn, of Robert College, Constantinople, will speak on "The points of Contact between Christianity and Mohammedanism." Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard, will speak on "Jewish Contributions to Civilization." Several eminent Jewish Rabbis will take part in the Parliament. Among them are: Dr. K. Kohler, Dr. Kohut, Dr. Silverman, Dr. H. Berkowitz and Dr. Wise. Prof. M. S. Terry, of the Garrett Biblical Institute, will read a paper on "The Study of the Sacred Books of the World as Literature." Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, will speak on "The Historic Christ," and Prof. Fisher, of New Haven, has prepared a noble paper on "Christianity as an Historic Religion." His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons will speak on "The Needs of Humanity as Supplied by the Catholic Religion." Nearly twenty eminent women have been invited to read papers during the seventeen days of the Parliament.

MAGNIFICENT as is the opportunity afforded in this Parliament for all Christian students to come into fellowship with their brethren and with all classes of religious thinkers, and to learn in these few days of conference what it would require months of searching and study to discover, there will be many clergymen and students who will not be able to be present. What is to be done to enable them to enjoy something of the results of the gathering? This question has evidently arrested the attention and occupied the mind of those who have been foremost in this great enterprise and has resulted in one of the most laudable undertakings connected with the entire movement. The plan has been formed to publish the entire proceedings of the Parliament of Religions. A company of representative gentlemen has formed the Parliament Publishing Company of Chicago, and has invited the Rev. Dr. Barrows, Chairman of the Committee on Religious Congresses, to edit these volumes of proceedings. In a circular describing their purposes the publishers speak as follows of the forthcoming work:

"Concisely stated, the two volumes composing this work, will contain, in connection with other matter: Sketches of previous efforts to convene a Parliament of Religions. Plans for such a Parliament and dreams of it, in other lands and ages. A judicious, brisk and pleasing story of the larger and smaller meetings of the Parliament, forming a most valuable and comprehensive, yet attractive, readable and condensed statement of the religious systems of the world as stated by their adherents. Portraits of the speakers in the Parliament, also of many Archbishops, Patriarchs, Bishops, Theological Pro-

fessors, Oriental and other Priests, Missionaries, Religious Editors, Pulpit Orators, etc., from among those most deeply interested in this work, together with sketches of the speakers, and representative scholars from six continents. Hundreds of pictures, grouped and single, of eminent men, councilors, ecclesiastics and divines of all lands, together with pictures of famous temples, churches, sacred fountains, relics, idols and cities noted in the history of religion. Valuable historical data regarding the various religious bodies coöperating in the Parliament. An exhaustive and carefully prepared index which will make the contents of the two volumes immediately available to readers and students. A syllabus of each chapter showing at a glance its contents." Dr. Keane, Rector of the Catholic University at Washington, very aptly says of this work that "it will be a monumental record of one of the most interesting occasions in history, and its omission would be worse than a mistake;" and Dr. George Dana Boardman adds: "The report of the proceedings of the approaching Parliament of Religions would make a publication alike unique in its character and fertile in its suggestions. Such a work would be particularly valuable to the historian, theologian, philanthropist, cosmopolite and the general scholar. It would be a thesaurus of contemporary thought upon the greatest of themes."

In this publication, also, all who are compelled by force of circumstances to remain away from this Parliament will find compensation in the possession of all that type, paper, photography and the other arts can do to make up for the living presence and fellowship of those who will take part in the proceedings. It is one of the most practical of schemes connected with this most unique and impressive of all the ideas and achievements embraced in the Columbian Exposition.

Book Reviews.

Side Lights upon Bible History. By MRS. SIDNEY BUXTON. New York : Macmillan & Co., 1892. Pp. 293.

Professor Sayce, in the preface to the sixth and last volume of the second series of the *Records of the Past*, that valuable series of books containing the original documents of Assyrian and Egyptian literature in translations, remarked that the public seemed to care more for books about the cuneiform literature than for the literature itself. This is not surprising, since only the few have time and patience to work carefully through the undeniably large amount of chaff to get at the few kernels of wheat. More than that, the interest of the many lies in the information furnished by these ancient writings concerning the Book of books. Their interest is indirect, therefore, and superficial. They are after the light upon the Bible ; where there is no light, they pass on. Such books as this by Mrs. Buxton aim to meet the wants of this large class of persons. For those who have neither the time nor the money to make the fuller investigations which are so fascinating and so important to the scholar this book will be found interesting and helpful. It follows along the course of Hebrew history, beginning with the Garden of Eden, down to the Restoration, bringing out the points of connection with the history of other nations, and presenting the material from without which illustrates the Scripture life. Excellent and trustworthy illustrations accompany the text. The writer, a daughter of the eminent scientist, Sir John Lubbock, has had excellent opportunities for collecting and sifting her material, being assisted by Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum.

Attention must be called to some omissions and defects of the volume. (1) Too much dependence is placed on Professor Sayce's theoretical construction of doubtful points : e.g., the fiction concerning Melchizedek, drawn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets (p. 63); the idea that Queen Tii was daughter of a Mesopotamian king, and that the sun-disc heresy in Egypt was due to the introduction of Semitic religious ideas ; the connection of Isaiah, ch. 10, with an imaginary attack of Sargon upon Judah (p. 192); reference to the "Will" of Sennacherib (which is corrected in a note, thanks to Mr. Pinches) (p. 209), etc. (2) M. Renan's favorite ideas respecting the religion of Israel are apparently accepted by the author, especially his notion about Jehovah as the cruel tribal god of Israel (p. 100). Mrs. Buxton seems to have been carried away by the brilliant style of the French scholar to the adoption of notions respecting this and other points which have no foundation in fact. (3) Some positive

errors are, the confusion of the Rameses built by the Hebrew slaves with the city of Rameses in the Delta (p. 85, note); the assignment of the wall across the eastern portion of Egypt to Rameses II., when it had existed long before (p. 90); the acceptance of Professor Paine's wild theories concerning "Seti II., son of Meneptah" (p. 95); the statement that Necho was on his way to help Babylonia and Media conquer Nineveh when he defeated Josiah at Megiddo, and the curious repetition of the fables of Herodotus concerning the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, together with the stranger fact of the omission of all the cuneiform material respecting that event, with the exception of a reference or two to secondary sources whose significance is not grasped—a most serious and extraordinary blunder. Professor Sayce's books should have helped here.

It is natural that a book which deals with so long a period and with so many facts, these changing their character and suffering modification in details from fresh discoveries, should contain some errors and omissions. Mrs. Buxton's book is not free from them, as has been shown. But this fact does not make the book useless, and it should not prevent us from recognizing the general excellence of the material and the new interest in many instances gathering around the biblical narrative in the fresh light which the facts here produced throw upon it.

G. S. G.

Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern. By ELIZABETH A. REED. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Pp. xiv., 419.

The book is a praiseworthy endeavor to inform the popular mind concerning the riches of the Persian literature. Any such attempt to widen the intellectual horizon is commendable. While, as a whole, the impression left upon us is that the literature of Persia hardly repays extensive study, yet, since it contains, in the Avesta, one of the Bibles of the world, as well as poetry like that of Hafiz and Firdusi, no cultivated person should be without some knowledge of it. The writer of this work seems to have had access to good authorities—unfortunately, however, limited entirely to English works—and writes in a pleasing style. The weakest portion of the book is that which discusses the Babylonian cuneiform literature, and attempts to find the origin of much of the Persian mythology and literary material in that literature. The latter attempt is misdirected and results in taking for borrowed material what is the common possession of all the early races. The book would have been much better with the entire omission of this part. A similar remark may be made respecting the chapter on the Koran. It can only be by a very far stretch that it is included in Persian literature. Its place would much more profitably have been occupied by a discussion of the influence of Persian literature upon the life and thought of other nations. Here is large room for valuable work. From the time when the Jews came under the influence of the doctrines of the Avesta down to the present century, there is much to be brought out respecting this exceedingly interesting topic. It is not mentioned in this volume.

Another point in which the volume could be improved is in adding a list of authorities and references for further study. The book fulfils its purpose in stimulating interest in Persia. It does not, however, afford opportunity for gratifying that interest by pointing the way to wider fields. The publishers have done their part admirably, and the book, as a whole, in spite of some defects, is a creditable addition to our literature of the Orient, and a useful source from which to draw knowledge concerning a too much neglected field.

G. S. G.

Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted. Hulsean Lectures, 1892-3.

By REV. J. B. HEARD, A.M. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.
Pp. 362. \$2.25.

Mr. Heard finds the real distinction between the theology of the East and that of the West to lie in the conception of theology itself. Theology properly has nothing to do with the problem of sin and with eschatology, but is concerned with "the knowledge of God in Christ." God, as the self-existent deity is unknowable, but God in Christ; that is God, immanent in all creation, "the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,"—God thus may be known. And this knowledge of God was the theology of the catechetical school of Alexandria. But it was not sufficient for the West. Indeed the Logos doctrine was never really understood in the West. To the Latin mind, God was still the transcendent deity of the Old Testament. And hence came the magisterial idea of a divine judge. With Augustine, converted profligate, Christianized Manichæan, this view received its full development. He approached theology from the human standpoint. To him, sin was the problem to be resolved; and he fell into the error, as Mr. Heard supposes, of so objectifying evil that it became in itself an entity. Augustine's eschatology was the result of a total misunderstanding of the Pauline doctrine of election. "The apostle set forth predestination, not as an absolute, but only as a relative truth, and simply with a controversial purpose. What he had in mind was to beat down the immoral predestination of his countrymen." The election was "God's purposely calling in the Gentiles." And the apostle clearly taught that the headship of the second Adam was co-extensive with that of the first. Augustine built a creed upon a half-truth, and imposed upon the whole Western church a theology of gloom. Calvinism was its natural outcome: the theology of Jonathan Edwards was its *reductio ad absurdum*. Latterly there has come a reaction from this system of belief, but Mr. Heard is careful to disavow his connection with this reaction in the form which it has taken. He has no sympathy with "that jerky, jaunty thing, American Universalism." If Augustinianism is an immoral pessimism, Universalism is equally an immoral optimism. Neither of these doctrines can be drawn from the New Testament. It is silent on the subject of eschatology. Its teaching is that of *meliorism*. We cannot lift the veil of the future and

peer into the mysteries which are not revealed, but we may read between the lines of Scripture "the hidden doctrine of the larger hope."

It is probable that the Universalists, whom Mr. Heard treats with such scant respect, would insist that his teaching is practically theirs, except that he refuses to push his views to their logical conclusion.

As an attempt to solve the difficulties of eschatology, Mr. Heard's lectures are interesting and valuable. Many will feel that the attempt is not successful, that it is not so easy to discard *in toto* the system of Augustine, and that the theology of Alexandria scarcely does full justice to the doctrines of Paul. But Mr. Heard's thesis deserves thoughtful consideration. The note of his lectures is "*ante quam exquaerite matrem.*" The theology of the West, he considers a theology of afterthoughts. It is to the East that we must go "for the pattern of a theology, which shall be in harmony with the *Zeitgeist* of the future."

T. G. S.

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By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
The University of Chicago.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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THE MOST unique and the most interesting series of events in all history is that series which taken together constitutes the history of the chosen people. This history may be placed side by side with that of other nations, and the comparison will always show a superiority in at least many particulars. Covering so many centuries, presenting points of contact with so many nations, including struggles of such momentous character, bringing about results so full of significance for all the world, where is there such a history? One is at a loss to determine by what name this history should be entitled. "History of Israel" is too narrow, for so broad and significant are its lines that it might almost be called a "World's History." And, besides, a History of Israel must be as yet incomplete since Israel is still enacting history; while on the other hand, the history of which we speak, though in one sense continuing, was after all finished when, as its highest outcome, the Son of Man appeared and introduced a new order of things. The name "Bible History" signifies nothing, nor may "Biblical History" be accepted. Both are indefinite; both suggest a kind of thing which, when examined, proves to be fantastic, if not grotesque. The attempt recently made by a well known writer to show that Biblical history was a distinct kind of history with its own standards of historiography, and something to be kept apart from all other history, deserves consideration, but does not do justice to the case in hand. "History of the Old Testament" means a history of the books

constituting the Old Testament. If by "Old Testament History" we mean the history which presents itself in and through the Old Testament, and if in using the term we allow ourselves the liberty of introducing also that history from the outside which directly connects itself with Old Testament history during the progress of the same, this, perhaps, is the best of all the terms which have been suggested.

IT MAY seem a bold assertion, and yet it is true, that this history has never yet been written. We have in our possession neither a manual of this history satisfactory for use in the classroom, nor any exhaustive and scientific treatment of it. "Outlines" and "Bible Histories" and "Histories of Israel" have, to be sure, been written, but there is nowhere a treatment which, while recognizing the established results of modern scholarship, conserves sufficiently the statements of truth most commonly accepted. These outlines or histories are either too old, antedating the great discoveries of the last twenty years, and lacking entirely in the new spirit of historical research, or too new, based upon mere conjecture and neglecting to consider certain most important factors.

The question is asked every day, What book may be placed in the hands of students to furnish them a true idea of Old Testament history? and every day the question goes unanswered. It is true that Ewald has grasped as no other man the meaning and significance of Israel's history, but if Ewald were living, much that is fundamental in his treatment would undergo radical change. It is true that Stade has treated the whole subject in a most scholarly way and with all the modern discoveries within his reach, but Stade's work will live no longer than Stade himself lives; in part because he has not shown the skill or the soul of a great historian; partly because he has blinded himself to many things clearly seen by others. The Old Testament history has not yet been written. The work of writing it is a work of the future. More than two thousand years have passed since the last event of this strange and wonderful history was enacted.

Nevertheless, the most important events constituting it are still held in doubt. Its real significance is only partly comprehended ; its philosophy is still unknown. Who will undertake the task of giving to the world a treatment which will do justice to the character of the events treated ?

THE DIFFICULTIES in the way of properly performing such a task are many and great. The man who undertakes to write an Old Testament history must know intimately all ancient history. The beginnings, even from the most modern point of view, lie far back in what are really prehistoric times ; the end will not be reached until the new dispensation has been ushered in at the coming of the Saviour. There is scarcely any ancient nation whose history is familiar to us with which Israel did not come in contact, and from which Israel did not receive something. To understand what was received and the results of the new influence thus exerted, requires in every case a knowledge of the nation exerting the influence. The fact that the whole is so far removed from us, while in some respects advantageous, is in other respects a source of serious difficulty. We are, without doubt, better able now to understand the philosophy of it all, but since the philosophy is based upon the actual facts which it seeks to explain, and since the very existence of these facts is, as many think, questionable, the historian does his work with much uncertainty. A century or two ago before the real development of the critical spirit, when men for the most part were accustomed to accept that which had been handed down to them, the task of writing history was comparatively easy. To-day the case is different. Everything must be held up for examination and for test. The foundations even, as it seems to some, have been shaken. The true historian finds himself rebuffed on every side. An independence of judgment and freedom from prejudice of every kind, an overwhelming desire for truth and the courage to announce the truth when once it is supposed to have been discovered, all these characteristics are required. The difficulties are of many kinds and many of each kind.

BEFORE the historian may fairly undertake his task, certain other important work must have been completed. The backbone of the Old Testament has been said to be the prophetic element which it contains. This prophetic element takes the form of story of past achievement and past humiliation; criticism of present conditions and present tendencies; announcement of future ideals, promising future glory and prosperity, and at the same time threatening future disgrace and destruction. This prophetic work had a beginning and growth, a culmination and decline, and at last an end. This history might almost be said to be Old Testament history itself. It includes every utterance of every prophet, all of which must be interpreted in order to secure the conception of things which was intended by Israel's greatest men. Before an Old Testament history can be written, there must first be written the history of prophecy.

THE history of a nation is largely moulded by its institutions and laws. If this is true of every nation, it was peculiarly true of Israel. First of all must be determined whether Israel's institutions and laws came objectively without reference to the various situations in which the nation was placed, and the exigencies which from time to time arose, or, as among other nations, from generation to generation, from century to century. If the latter alternative is chosen, the question again presents itself: Did the Israelitish law contain in it a definite factor which regulated events and exigencies so as to prepare the way and provide the demand for the laws which were to be promulgated; or was Israelitish law like Roman law, simply a matter of ordinary development under the general providence of an all-seeing God? Put the question in another form. Is there a history of Israelitish legislation, and, if so, of what nature is this history? To-day the question may be regarded settled. There was a history of Israelitish legislation, and *this* history, as well as that of the prophetic influence, must be written before it will be possible to write a true history of the nation Israel.

Nor is this all. Events and institutions constitute, to be sure,

the larger part of the nation's history, but a part equally important is the nation's thinking; its method of dealing with the great problems of life; this is something internal and fundamental. Israel had a philosophy; crude, perhaps, and unsatisfying, but a philosophy which must be included in its history. When did this philosophy begin? What were the main principles upon which it was founded? and, for the sake of convenience, regarding philosophy and theology as one, what were the steps in its development? How fully had these conceptions grown before the end of the Old Testament had come? The history of Israel's philosophy and theology is, after all, the greatest division in Israel's history, and the working out of this must precede a satisfactory discussion of the history at large.

WE who are interested in the Old Testament, whether as students or as scholars, have before us, therefore, three preliminary lines of work which we must do before we may understand properly or treat comprehensively this subject concerning which so much is said and so little accurately known. Something of the history, to be sure, must be known before we begin the study of any one of these preliminary subjects. Much of this history will be discovered in connection with the study of them, but the history itself in all its fullness and in all its significance, will present itself and will be understood only as we have prepared ourselves broadly and thoroughly by this preliminary work. Does any importance attach to the order in which these three preliminary subjects shall be taken? No. The study of each is the study of all three. Given at the beginning the barest familiarity with the general facts, we may take up with profit any one of the three. The priest, the prophet, the sage,—each had his work to do for Israel and for the world. Each did his work, and in the doing of it made his contribution to that unity, complex and complicated it may be, but still a unity which in all its variety makes up what we may call "Old Testament History."

IN all instruction and investigation the danger most near is that of emphasizing what is not fundamental. In a field of study like that of the Bible, where new discoveries, new views, new theories are so interesting to so wide a circle and so closely related to practical life, the danger is all the greater. How many of the thinkers, investigators, theologians, critics of the past have thought their views essential to the progress of the Church. And yet the Church quietly laid them aside and lived on without them. How much trouble and even disaster has been caused by some sincere men who insisted that what they believed was fundamental for all others. They forced upon all what in fact was temporary and incidental, not vital and permanent. Scholars, specialists everywhere are prone to this fault. Bible students have before them in the varied contents of the Book the best antidote for this disease. The Bible is ever striking out essential truths. Its writers hit at the center, and hence their thoughts will live in the hearts of men forever.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

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III.

Did the crucifixion take place on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan or on the fifteenth?

Nisan (or Abib, as it was called in olden time) was the first month of the Jewish year and corresponded roughly to our March-April. We cannot fix it more precisely, for in the first place the months were lunar, and were therefore continually varying with respect to the year; in the next place they were settled by observation merely. If some ripe ears of barley could be found as the new moon was expected, the new year was declared to have begun; if not, a month was intercalated. In critical cases therefore a late or early spring might just make the difference. Similarly, if the moon's thin crescent was visible on the expected night, the ensuing day was proclaimed holy as the first day of the month; if not, even though the moon's absence was caused by clouds or rain, a day was intercalated, but of course only one.

By these simple expedients the calendar was kept fairly accurate without any of those elaborate calculations by which Julius Cæsar put the matter on its present basis. Modern precision however was never thought of. The year did not begin on the right day, but on the nearest new moon to the right day, or one month later; the month did not begin at the true new moon, but when the moon was first visible, which would be a day and half or two days later. The day itself did not begin at sunset, but when from one to three stars were visible. Every thing was vague and empirical.

It is impossible, therefore, for us now to recover an ancient Jewish date with any certainty. We cannot be sure to a day,

sometimes not to a month. It is however probable that already in the time of Christ contact with Greek civilization had introduced some more systematic methods of calculation.

The Jews were not seriously inconvenienced by the uncertainty of the calendar. Those who lived in the Holy Land received a fortnight's notice of the passover's approach, ten days' notice of the time for selecting the paschal lamb. Whether therefore they intended to keep the feast in Jerusalem or to eat it in their own village, there was ample time for preparation. The Jews of the dispersion came to pentecost rather than to passover.

On the fourteenth day of Nisan the paschal lamb was slain "between the evenings," (3-5 P. M.) according to Josephus, and was eaten the same night. In legal language (as the day legally began at sunset) it was eaten on the fifteenth, but in popular language it was eaten on the night of the fourteenth. To prevent misconception I shall adhere to popular language throughout the rest of this paper, and reckon the days, as we do, from midnight to midnight.

Next day, the fifteenth, was the first day of unleavened bread, one of the greatest festivals in the year, for it commemorated the deliverance from Egypt. Josephus, however, tells us that in the time of Christ the fourteenth was commonly called the first day of unleavened bread, and we find it so styled in the gospels. We must not suppose that the great festival had been shifted: that was certainly not the case: but the Rabbis in their endeavor "to set a hedge about the law" had required all leaven to be destroyed one day sooner than the law directed, and so there were practically eight days of unleavened bread now. The numbering therefore was altered, the festivals being on the second and the eighth instead of the first and the seventh.

The question is, Did Christ assemble his disciples to eat the passover on the evening of the fourteenth or was he at that time already resting in the grave, the last conflict being over? Strange to say this question has been long debated. Various makeshift answers have been given. But with the increasing sense of honesty which marks our age, some of the best scholars have dared to say "I do not know."

Let us first read S. Mark's testimony. "Now after two days was the passover and the feast of unleavened bread And on the first day of unleavened bread when (the Jews) used to sacrifice the passover, the disciples say unto him, where wilt thou that we go and prepare that thou mayest eat the passover?" Say ye to the Master of the house the Teacher saith, Where is my lodging where I must eat the passover with my disciples? And they prepared the passover."

SS. Matthew and Luke fully confirm this. The latter adds that Jesus said, "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer."

If we had the synoptists alone, no one would doubt that Jesus ate the passover the night before the crucifixion and that he was therefore crucified on the fifteenth.

But now let us look at S. John.

"*Before*" (not "*at*") "*the feast of the passover Jesus*" partook of the last supper (13:1). During the meal Judas went out and, the cause of his departure being secret, some supposed, since Judas held the bag, that Jesus said unto him, "Buy what we need for the feast" (13:29). They were not therefore already concluding the feast, but were looking forward to it. "Judas went out, and it was night." Yet the shops were not shut, as they would have been on the night of the fourteenth, for legally next day's festival would have begun on which no work was allowed. Next morning S. John tells us that the chief priests "*themselves entered not into the prætorium, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover*" (18:28). They had not, therefore, eaten the passover the night before, but looked forward to doing so that night. "And it was the preparation of the passover" when they crucified Him (19:14). "The Jews therefore, since it was Preparation, that the bodies might not remain on the cross upon the sabbath" . . . applied to Pilate that they might be taken down (19:31). We have seen that Preparation almost certainly means Friday, in which case these verses do not affect the question. They count neither way. Still we have a singularly long list of dates, some of which seem to demand the fourteenth, all permit of it. If we read S.

John's gospel alone, no one would doubt that our Lord was crucified on the fourteenth, and therefore did not partake of the Passover.

Let us first glance at some of the solutions which have been offered of this difficult problem at various times.

1. Eusebius suggested and S. Chrysostom developed the idea, which has been very generally held, that the chief priests had been so busily employed in compassing Christ's arrest and conducting his trial, that they had found no time to eat the passover on the proper night, but had put off the duty of doing so till the fifteenth.

But Christ's arrest appears to have taken place after midnight. The passover was eaten when the sun had set. The chief priests were rigid legalists and would have abundance of time for celebrating the most solemn of their ordinances. Moreover, this supposition leaves two out of S. John's three statements unexplained.

2. The majority, therefore, of modern interpreters have inclined rather to the view that Christ himself anticipated the passover, eating it one day sooner than usual because he knew that his hour was come and because he "earnestly desired to eat it with them before he suffered."

But S. Mark distinctly writes that it was the disciples who suggested to him that the time for eating the passover had come, and that they did so "on the first day of unleavened bread when (the Jews) sacrificed the passover." Nothing can be clearer than this. The usual day, the usual hour, was come. They fancied that he had overlooked it, and they call attention to the necessity of making preparations for the universal religious duty.

Moreover, although the law directed every master of a house to kill the paschal lamb himself, no restriction about place being given, the later centralization required that the lamb must be slain in the temple. The Jews of the dispersion could not eat the passover except when they went up—perhaps once in their lives—to the Holy City. Now the priesthood have refused to sacrifice the lamb a day before the usual time. And the advocates of

this view are obliged to maintain that no lamb was obtained. They point out that in the narrative of the last supper neither lamb nor bitter herbs are mentioned. There seems to have been nothing on the table but bread, wine, and one bowl containing fish or salad or other condiment. It was (as S. John describes it) an ordinary supper. This difficulty we shall consider presently. Meanwhile S. Mark's words "Prepare that thou mayest eat the passover" and "They made ready the passover" must surely mean the paschal lamb.

3. Rabbinic students have suggested an entirely new explanation which in recent times has gained a wide acceptance. They contend that by "eating the passover" S. John meant something quite different from what S. Mark meant by the same expression. S. Mark plainly intended the paschal lamb, but S. John refers to a festal meal which is not mentioned in the Pentateuch but was prescribed by the tradition of the elders. Commonly called the *Chāgīgāh*, it could be eaten on any of the seven days of the feast, but was usually taken on the second—the old "first"—day. It was considered of equal or even greater importance than the paschal lamb, and the term, "eating the passover" included it or sometimes alluded to it alone. In S. John, they argue, the expression "eat the passover" must refer to the *Chāgīgāh*, for if the chief priests had defiled themselves by entering the Prætorium, such lesser defilement, caused by the presence of Roman eagles and other idolatrous signs, possibly also of leavened bread, would always be removed by washing the body at sunset. There was nothing after such purification to prevent them from eating the passover.

The feeling against idolatry and idolaters was particularly strong in that age, when the Jews were daily brought into contact with it. I can hardly believe that such pollution was so lightly got rid of. Moreover, the scribes would wish to attend the sacrifice as well as the supper. If the *Chāgīgāh* could be eaten on any of the seven days, why should not the chief priests have postponed it till the third or fourth day, since their presence in Pilate's court was so imperatively demanded. But, indeed, I am rather suspicious about these later Jewish ceremonies. The destruction of

Jerusalem, which altered the whole procedure of sacrifice, created a revolution in the observance of the Law. The Talmud, from which our knowledge of the *Chāgīgāh* is derived, was not written until five centuries after the city was destroyed, and is no sure guide to Jewish customs in the time of Christ. No ancient authors imagined that "eating the passover" in S. John meant something quite different from "eating the passover" in S. Mark.

And there is another difficulty. S. John tells us that all our Lord's adherents were excommunicated (9 : 22 ; 12 : 42). And if so, it would be impossible for them to get a lamb sacrificed except by intrigue to which they would not stoop.

Professor Hort, a few months before his death, had a correspondence with Professor Sanday on this subject. Only a few extracts from Dr. Hort's letters have been published, but Dr. Sanday, who has advocated the *Chagigah*, acknowledged himself convinced. He admitted that there is a real discrepancy between the synoptists and S. John, and that none of the explanations which had been offered could be considered satisfactory.¹

Meanwhile my own examination of the synoptic problem had forced upon me another solution on entirely new lines.

When you look at the synoptic gospels from an historical point of view the first thing that strikes you is the extraordinary fact that they do not bring Christ to Jerusalem until he entered it to be crucified. Now the more you consider this, the more remarkable it becomes.

It cannot represent the whole truth. Even if we rejected the fourth gospel altogether, we should feel certain, both from antecedent probability and from certain casual expressions in the synoptists (as "O Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together . . .") that Christ was no stranger in the Holy City. A Judean ministry is quite as necessary as a Galilean.

Whence then came the omission? Did S. Peter entirely pass over the work done in Judæa? I do not think so. The very fact that S. Mark devotes six chapters out of sixteen to

¹ *The Expositor*. Vol. V., p. 183.

events which took place in the precincts of Jerusalem, makes me suspicious. Important though the passover was, it seems to be narrated at undue length. The proportions of the history are destroyed.

And when we look closer, there are many things in those six chapters which have no particular affinity to the passover, but would decidedly gain in significance, if they were put a year or two before it. They show how public feeling was educated; but that very education could scarcely be completed in a fortnight. Events in real life move much more slowly.

And there is one incident—the cleansing of the temple—which S. John has placed at the beginning, and not at the close, of our Saviour's ministry.¹ It is very much to be noticed that S. John describes the cleansing of the temple as happening at a passover; but not at the final passover which is the only one known to S. Mark, but at an earlier passover which Christ passed in Jerusalem, some say three years, some two, those who consider John 6 : 4 to be spurious, one year before the crucifixion.

It has been usual to suppose that there were two cleansings of the temple, one at the earlier passover, one at the last. Such a repetition is, to say the least, highly improbable. That Christ should cleanse the temple once, is intelligible; that he should do so when he first came forward as the Messiah, to test the obedience of the Jews and appeal to their religious feelings, I can understand. But to what end would a repetition serve? And if repeated, why should not S. Mark or S. John have told us so?

I know that many persons object to admit so serious a chronological discrepancy in S. Mark, who was S. Peter's interpreter. But let us look at the facts calmly. S. Mark only brings Christ to Jerusalem at the last.

Anything which happened at Jerusalem during an earlier visit must therefore either be omitted by S. Mark, transferred into Galilee, or inserted into holy week. The structure of his gospel permits no other alternative. In short the gospel is not arranged on a chronological but on a topical plan.

If you ask how this is, my answer is that S. Peter did not give a complete course of lessons, nor did he arrange them in

order. S. Mark, as Papias tells us, did not write in order, because S. Peter's lessons had been adapted to the immediate wants of the pupils, one lesson being given at a time as the occasion demanded. S. Peter left them so, and S. Mark could not supply the defect. He was not an eye-witness, and could not recover the true sequence.

Professor Sanday fully agrees with me on this point. "The simple fact is," he writes, "that the synoptic gospels are only a series of incidents loosely strung together, with no chronology at all worthy of the name."¹

I earnestly exhort all biblical students to examine into this question of the chronology of the synoptists for themselves. If I am right, the exhausting labors and tortuous explanations of the harmonists, in their endeavor to reconcile what cannot be reconciled, have been wasted.

I wish heartily that any words of mine could save future students of the gospel from what I am convinced is a useless task. There is so much to be done in more profitable researches, that I grudge the time and energy spent on harmonies. When these evangelists narrate the same events in the same order, we are not entitled to infer that they follow the true chronology, but only that they follow S. Mark, whose order is not chronological.

Now if it be conceded that the cleansing of the temple belonged to the earlier passover, it is clear that the section in which Christ was asked, "By what authority doest thou these things?" (Mark 11:27-33) must be transferred to the earlier passover also. And if so, I should transfer several sections which are found in the next chapter, not, perhaps, to the first passover, but rather to one or other of those subsequent visits which our Lord paid to Jerusalem. These are Mark 12:13-17, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar?" 18-27, the seven brethren marrying; 28-36, the great commandment of the law; 38-40, the warning against the scribes. All these sections have no real connection with holy week, but will gain in significance if we put them into an earlier period.

¹*Expositor*, Vol. v., page 16.

And I should then carry these suggestions one step further. S. Peter seems to me to have narrated how Christ, who was obedient to the law for our sakes, ate the passover in the Holy City with his disciples on his earlier visit, when he was not yet excommunicate. Then they "made ready the Passover," ate the paschal lamb and the bitter herb, drank the wine, sang the hymn with all the customary ceremonies.

One, two, or more years later, Christ again assembled his disciples for the last supper. On this occasion he gave them the sign of the man bearing the pitcher of water. On this occasion he instituted the eucharist at the close of the meal, and spoke those discourses which S. John has recorded. It was the thirteenth of the month Nisan, and, therefore, not the passover.

S. Mark has fused the two significant suppers into one, by transferring to the latter what really belong to the former. The other evangelists have followed him in this, as in all the rest of his chronological confusions.

Some one may object that S. Luke records this sentence, "I have earnestly desired to eat this *passover* with you before I suffer," thus connecting the two meals together, which I separate by a year or more. This sentence, I reply, is peculiar to S. Luke and if any one will read what I have written about S. Luke's "Editorial notes"¹ and will then examine S. Luke's Gospel to ascertain whether I have not good grounds for what I say, he will not think that verse a serious objection. The thought pressing hard on our Lord's human mind was, "This is my last meal." The western catechists have slightly modified the expression of it, or S. Luke himself has inserted the word "passover," as is his wont.

It is possible, however, that there was no such blending of narratives as I have supposed, but that the whole scene should be transferred to the earlier passover and rehearsed at the last supper. Averse though I am to vain repetitions, there is one repetition which I admit would have been full of significance. What if Christ made the personal covenant by the breaking of bread between himself and his disciples at the first passover in

¹*Composition of the Four Gospels*, pp. 116-127. (Macmillans, New York).

Jerusalem, renewed it at his second passover in Capernaum (John 6: 4) with a larger company than the twelve, and in close connection with the feeding of the five thousand, and finally repeated it a third time on the night on which he was betrayed, with perhaps the additional word that his body, which they were to eat, would soon be broken for them; his blood, which they were to drink, would soon be shed? In this way we shall both make the sacrament more intelligible as a covenant of brotherhood between himself and his people; we shall explain and justify the mysterious language of S. John 6: 51, which has always been a difficulty with interpreters; we shall justify S. Peter's statement that our Lord Jesus Christ on the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, and we shall reduce S. Mark's chronological error to a *minimum*.

Our records of Christ's life are fragmentary. If it were not for a single incidental statement in S. John,¹ we should have concluded confidently that the sacrament of holy baptism was first instituted after the resurrection. And if we now know that it had been practiced by the apostles from the commencement of Christ's ministry, what wonder if the other sacrament had been celebrated too? We might have to modify our conception of it, and regard it as a covenant of union rather than a commemorative sacrifice; in short, as a sacrifice, according to the ancient conception of the word rather than the modern, but we should, I think, only understand its real meaning the better for such a change.

The question discussed in this paper is a very serious one. Scholars are beginning to acknowledge freely that there is a contradiction between the synoptists and S. John respecting the day of the month of the crucifixion. The old explanations of the difference are failing or have already failed. The genuineness of the Fourth Gospel is at stake. Under these circumstances I have pointed out that the contradiction does not lie between SS. Peter and John, both of whom must have known the facts, but between SS. Mark and John, of whom S. Mark did not know the facts, and may have confused the records, as S. John shows him to have done on other occasions.

¹ John 4: 1-2.

I have then shown how S. Mark's error may have arisen, and how very slight it is, and how easily it may have been made: Those who at all hazards maintain the inerrancy of Holy Scripture will necessarily reject my proposals; but from others I ask a patient hearing. It is important to remember that ancient opinion followed S. John in accepting the fourteenth as the day of the crucifixion. Not only is this proven by the existence of the Quarto-decimans in the second century, but it was the belief of Apollinaris, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus. Not till the fourth century did the other opinion begin to prevail.

HEBREW HISTORIOGRAPHY.

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There is very much material, which would properly be included in a complete discussion of the subject of Hebrew Historiography, which yet may easily be eliminated from a treatment of the subject, whose chief purpose is to discover the principles, in which it is unique and different from the historiography of other peoples. Thus at once may be excluded the historical portions of the Apocrypha, for so far as they are different from the canonical books of the Old Testament, they are entirely similar to the historical writings of other peoples; and in so far as they are similar to the canonical histories, they are simply imitations, demanding no separate treatment. The same thing indeed may be said regarding the works of Philo and Josephus, and with regard to the historical portions of the New Testament, the main principles of the historiography seem to be essentially the same as those of the Old.

There still remains, however, a vast amount of material, besides the historical books of the Old Testament Scriptures in their present form, which demands consideration in a treatment of this subject. I refer to the authorities upon which the Old Testament histories are based. There are a large number of song-books, story-books, chronicles, biographies, histories, etc., to which direct reference is made in the Old Testament, but none of which, as separate works, are in existence at the present day. There is abundant evidence that there existed valuable Royal Chronicles of David and Solomon and the later kings. There is specific reference to the "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah," "The Book of Jasher," which seems to have been a collection of national songs, "The Commentary of Iddo the Seer," which

seems to have been a collection of historical stories, "The Acts of the Kings of Israel," and those great works, "The Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and of the Kings of Israel," together with many other writings. These works have absolutely perished, but it is supposed that portions of very many of them still exist, as originally written (albeit somewhat divided and abridged), and are to be found in the different documents into which modern criticism has divided the Old Testament histories. And besides these, there are numerous other works to which no reference is made in the Old Testament, but whose existence is demanded by the documentary theories of the critics.

In a thoroughly scientific treatment of the subject of Hebrew Historiography, a minute discussion of these various works would be essential. But it is difficult to discuss works which are no longer extant, even if they exist in fragmentary form as different strata in the formation of other works. And furthermore, I think the great principles of that historiography, which is peculiar to the Hebrew people, are not affected by any theory of these older works. I shall, therefore, confine myself, in this paper, to a discussion of the principles, which governed the historians, who gave us the Old Testament histories in their present form ; dealing of course in the proper place with the use which those historians made of these older sources and authorities.

The field to be covered then will comprise the historical portions of the Hexateuch, the Book of Judges, to which may be appended the Book of Ruth, and the Books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. I omit the book of Esther as rather biographical, and didactic than historical, as wanting in some of the essential characteristics of the Hebrew histories, and, moreover, because it is a book about which scholarship is very much in dispute. There are other historical portions of the Old Testament, but there are no other histories.

An interesting fact with regard to all these historical works, with the possible exception of Ezra and Nehemiah, is the entire absence of any reference to the identity of the men, to whom we are indebted for their compilation. The Pentateuch nowhere

ascribes its authorship, as a whole, to the hand of Moses; the book which is called by the name of Joshua contains no suggestion that that warrior was its author; Samuel could not by any possibility have written more than a small portion of the book which bears his name, and the other histories, even in their titles, are anonymous. We know that Nathan wrote a history of David, that Ahijah wrote a life of Solomon, that Shemaiah made a record of the acts of Rehoboam, but the great prophets and sacred writers, who gave us the histories which we call the Books of Judges, and Samuel, and Kings, and Chronicles, men whose religious influence in their day could have been in no wise inferior to that of Elijah and Isaiah, these men remain forever nameless and unknown.

Proceeding now to the characteristics of these Old Testament histories, it is to be noted, in the first place, that without exception, they are all constructed on a framework that is chronological. I do not mean of course that the histories are scientifically chronological, but that the general plan is according to the time-order of events. The histories of the patriarchs are arranged in the order, in which those worthies actually lived. The account from the exodus to the conquest of the land follows in the main the chronological sequence of the history. And in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, the chronological basis is particularly manifest, for the actual order of the kings of Israel, and of Judah, is carefully preserved.

These facts are interesting, as an indication that the Hebrew historians had that fundamental conception, without which historiography worthy of the name is impossible, that history is not a concatenation of isolated facts, brought together without regard to their mutual dependence, but that it constitutes a thread of narrative, and a chronological evolution.

On the other hand, while it is true that the histories as a whole are arranged upon a chronological basis, yet this statement must be modified by several considerations. A very common feature of the biblical histories is the existence of addenda, or appendices. For example, the Book of Judges was perhaps once complete at the 16th chapter, and the narratives of the migration of

the tribe of Dan, and of the events at Gibeah, contained in chapters 17-21, are a later addition to the book. Indeed, probably the Book of Ruth, though it appears as a separate writing, is really to be considered as an addendum to the Book of Judges.

The existence of such addenda is as common, perhaps, in our modern writings as in those of the ancient Hebrews; with this important distinction, however, that we carefully indicate the exact nature and the true historical and chronological position of such material, while they simply tacked it on to what had previously been written. And it may be observed at this point that very much of the difference between our histories and those of the Hebrews is entirely to be accounted for by the absence of the simple devices by which we indicate the difference between a main narrative and those parts which are subordinate. Matter which we should put into a foot-note was necessarily by them incorporated into the text. Distinctions which we should mark by parentheses, inverted commas, italics, smaller type, and the thousand and one little devices by which in a modern book the eye is made immediately to catch the relation of the parts, are of course entirely wanting in those ancient works. And a consideration of this fact is very important to the subject which we have in hand.

Again, in modification of the statement that these histories are chronologically arranged, it is to be noted that this is true only in the main outlines, while the details of the history are often very much out of chronological order. It is a characteristic of the Hebrew historians to finish the consideration of a subject upon which they have once embarked, and afterwards to take up the other matters, which would, on a strictly chronological arrangement, have been interspersed through the first narrative. Unfortunately, when these other matters are introduced, it is very seldom that our historian will be careful to indicate that he has departed from the chronological order. In the histories of Elijah and Elisha, in the Book of Kings, series of events are grouped together which manifestly must have been separated by many years; and it is quite impossible to decide, with any degree

of certainty, in what reign Elijah was taken up into heaven, or in what reign the city of Samaria was miraculously delivered.

Another characteristic of the Hebrew historians is to make first a rapid survey of the whole history of the particular event which it is their purpose to describe, and then, without indicating any change in the continuity of the narrative, to return, and to fill in the details of the transaction. For example, it is stated that Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, came up against Jerusalem, "but they could not prevail against it." After this, the narrative proceeds to relate certain actions of the king of Judah, which it might therefore be supposed were subsequent to the unsuccessful attempt upon the city; and it is only from a consideration of all the circumstances that we come to a different conclusion.

A characteristic of the Hebrew historians, which makes exceedingly difficult our modern reconstructions of the history, is the common practice of passing over periods of time, without the slightest reference to the fact. Two events will be narrated, apparently as having occurred almost simultaneously, while in reality there must have been a considerable lapse of time between them. Most critics suppose such a lapse of time between the choice of Saul and his first conflict with the prophet Samuel, but the narrative itself contains no such intimation. We know from the Assyrian records that twenty years elapsed between the return of Sennacherib to Nineveh and his murder by his two sons, but the Book of Kings makes the simple statement: "So Sennacherib, King of Assyria, departed and went and dwelt at Nineveh, and it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote him with the sword."

So far the discussion of the historiography has been from the chronological point of view. I pass now to a consideration of the manner in which the histories were prepared. Only very small portions of the works which are under consideration could have been contemporaneous with the events of which they treat. In nearly every case several centuries must have elapsed. The writers must, therefore, have depended upon earlier authorities

for a very large part of their information. As has been already shown, there was a great mass of historical material, which could be laid under tribute. The royal archives must have been full of information regarding political events; we know of many of the prophets who wrote histories of the kings under whose reign they lived; and it does not require a very bold conjecture to imagine that the Schools of the Prophets, founded by Samuel, were like the monasteries of mediaeval Europe, the centers of literary activity, in which historical composition would find its proper place. Thus the historian, who designed to trace for many generations the history of his people, found himself amply provided with material for his task. What use did he make of this material? We know the methods which are employed by historians of our day. We know how authorities are examined, evidence is weighed, and, when finally a critical judgment has been reached, the history is written from the standpoint of that judgment. Biblical scholarship has decided that the Hebrew histories were *not* so written. They do not represent a final opinion of an individual writer, founded upon an examination of all the documents, the authorities, the traditions, and all that constitutes historical evidence. But rather they are a weaving together of various sections, bodily excerpted from the older narratives which our historian used. It is held that there are numerous contradictions, or at least inconsistencies, in the histories, which can only be accounted for on the supposition of different authorship. Instances are enumerated of transitions so abrupt as to indicate the close of one document and the commencement of another. Parallel accounts of the same events, with trifling divergences, are found running all through the different histories. It is supposed that there are two accounts of creation, of the flood, of the relations of Saul and Samuel, and of Saul and David, and some even carry the theory so far as to find a duplicate account in the narrative of the Sennacherib invasion. And finally, it is asserted that the whole documentary hypothesis is strongly corroborated by marked distinctions of style, and diction, and syntax, in the different documents into which the histories should be divided.

Into this subject, which constitutes the arena of polemical discussion between the Old School and the New, it would manifestly be unwise to enter in this paper. As regards the methods of the historiography, it must certainly be conceded that some method of compilation was employed. But the question still remains, as to what was the nature of the compilation. Did it consist merely in making excerpts from older histories and tacking them together, with here and there a sentence from the redactor? Or were there really *authors* of these histories, who needed something more than a pair of scissors and a paste-pot? As far as I have yet been able to see, after we have made every allowance for the presence of older documents in our canonical books, when we have admitted that the transitions from one subject to another are often strangely abrupt, when we have even, perhaps, accepted the theory that there are parallel accounts of the same event; it yet remains true that there is an order, an essential unity, a literary arrangement, and an underlying purpose in all these histories, which demands the concession that much of the material has been re-written, much of it has been carefully digested, and all of it has been admirably woven into a connected whole, until, with all their incompleteness and their minor faults, we have the finished works, remarkable for their logical, succinct and faithful presentation of the course of events in the national history of the people of God.

Passing now to a consideration of these histories as a whole, we are immediately impressed with two prominent facts. First it is manifest, that from Genesis to Nehemiah, these narratives, although independent of one another, cover the whole course of Jewish history—the creation, the call of the first patriarch, the development of the nation, the Egyptian bondage, the exodus, the conquest of Canaan, the establishment of the monarchy, the dispersion of the ten tribes, the captivity of Judah, the re-building of the temple and the city, the re-establishment of the people, awaiting the advent of the Messiah. Not minutely, not exhaustively, not even proportionately, but, as with a few bold dashes of the painter's brush, these writings present to us in outline the whole course of the national history of the chosen people.

A second noteworthy characteristic of these histories, is the great emphasis placed on certain incidents and historic characters, and a total disregard of many matters, which would be considered of the first importance by a modern historian. What detailed descriptions have we of the plagues of Egypt, of the deeds of the heroes "in the days when the Judges ruled," of the sin of David and its consequences, of the erection of the temple—all matters of comparatively slight historical importance. On the other hand, how eagerly do we look, and yet in vain, for a single item of information regarding that interesting period of Egyptian sojourn; how much information might have been given in a few words regarding the political, social and religious condition of the people in the times before the monarchy; and how easily, from an historical point of view, could we have dispensed with the detail of the private life of David and of Solomon, if we could have gained a few more hints about the organization of the kingdom, and the condition of the priestly service.

It is in these two characteristics that the unique character of the Hebrew histories consists. Evidently from this last mentioned characteristic, it is manifest that the purpose of the historiographer was not a scientifically historical purpose. The history in outline may be comprehensive and complete, but in detail it is very incomplete and disproportionate. And it is so, for the very reason that the political and social development of the Hebrew people is not the theme of the historiographer. It is upon the *sins* of individuals and of the nation that he dwells, and upon the inevitable consequences of such sin. It is upon the *faith* of individuals and of the nation that he dwells, and upon the invariable blessings that reward such faith. Even to-day we study the past that we may understand the present, and prepare for the future. And so to the prophetic historian the past history of his people was fraught with living lessons for the present, and was full of warning and exhortation for the future. A profound religious purpose governed him in his selection and arrangement of historical material. And though his record of facts had been never so accurate, he would have regarded his work a failure, if it had no influence upon the hearts and lives of the men of his own day and generation.

However, this religious purpose was not the only purpose of the Hebrew historian ; if it had been, the biblical histories would scarcely be entitled to the name. There was also a distinctly historical purpose, though even in this point the history-writing is unique. The Hebrew historiographer is controlled by a profound conviction that he is writing the history of a people whom God has chosen peculiarly as his own. The starting point of the history is a covenant between God and the founder of the nation ; and Hebrew history, in the mind of the biblical historian, is the unfolding of the covenant relation between Jehovah God and the sons of Israel. It is no part of an historical paper to discuss the subject of inspiration, which belongs rather to the province of theology, but the suggestion may be permitted that the inspiration of these narratives lies perhaps principally in this same conviction of the Hebrew writer. He was given to understand the meaning of the history of Israel. He was inspired with the divine philosophy of the history. And so he presented to the people in panoramic view the records of their past, wherein at every step was manifest the presence of the covenant God Jehovah. The history of Israel was no history of battles, and sieges, and treaties ; no history of kings, and statesmen, and diplomats ; no history of commerce, and manufacture, and art. It was a history of the faith and rebellion of the people as individuals and as a nation ; it was a history of the divine reward and the divine retribution ; it was a history of the providential movements of God in the selection of a man, and a family, and a nation, to be holy unto himself, and a peculiar people.

As we described the one purpose of the historian as religious, so we may describe this purpose as theocratic. And an examination of the histories from this point of view explains many of their peculiarities that were otherwise obscure. The detailed narratives of the patriarchs, of the descent into Egypt, of the wilderness journey, are a representation, not only of general religious truth, but of the development of the covenant relation between God and man, whereby gradually he prepared a people whose God he was peculiarly to be. This further explains the fact, that the whole series of histories is continuous. Where the Hexa-

teuch has stopped, the writer of Judges takes up the tale; where Judges stops the writer of Samuel takes it up; where Samuel stops the writer of Kings takes it up, and the compiler of Chronicles makes a parallel account, with the emphasis upon the development of the priestly service; where Chronicles stops Ezra takes it up; and where Ezra stops Nehemiah takes up the narrative, and with him it closes. Thus through the centuries this theocratic history was gradually evolved, beginning with the account of creation, and carrying it forward to the reëstablishment of the theocracy and of the temple service, after the Babylonian captivity. For the next act in the theocratic drama we must pass over the centuries to the advent of the Christ.

I am careful to add that this view of the continuity of the histories does not depend upon the traditional view of the date and authorship of the biblical writings. It holds good, even according to the most extreme radical position. Eliminating the priestly document of the Hexateuch, we have still the compilation of the Jehovahistic and the Elohistic documents (which gives us all the historiography that is necessary to our purpose), in existence certainly in the eighth century. Deuteronomy is not later than the seventh century. Judges, according to Canon Driver, is in its present form from the hands of a Deuteronomic Redactor, yet probably, he says, there was a pre-Deuteronomic collection of the histories of the Judges. Samuel is assigned to about 700 B. C. Kings to about 600 B. C., and whenever Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah are to be placed, they at least follow in the order indicated, which is all that is essential to my thesis.

Moreover, this argument is not founded upon the presence of those patent connecting links between the books, which may perhaps have come from the hands of the final editor. For example, the Book of Judges opens with the phrase, "Now after the death of Joshua," manifestly connecting it with that former work, but not in itself a proof that the former work was antecedent. So the Book of Kings connects itself with Samuel by the phrase "Now when David was old and stricken in years." The argument is not founded upon these phrases, but upon the fact, that the essence of the histories forms a continuous narrative

(always from the theocratic standpoint), without a serious break, from the creation of mankind to the re-establishment of the Jewish nation under Nehemiah.

The purpose then of Hebrew historiography was religious and theocratic. From this point of view the incongruities in the history largely disappear. The Almighty counts time not by days and years. The life of Abraham was longer than the Egyptian bondage; David's forty years were longer than the forty decades of the Judges. History from the divine standpoint emphasizes that which is important in its divine relations; the puny movements of Assyrian armies and Egyptian kings are matters of trifling concern.

A word in conclusion as to the historicity of these biblical narratives. The subject demands a detailed discussion, but I must dismiss it simply with this word. It would be strange indeed if a series of histories, even inspired histories, giving an account in outline of pre-historic man, and then covering a period of nearly 2000 years of history, should not contain slight chronological, historical and geographical inaccuracies. The Hebrews seem never to have developed a systematic chronology, and, in the light of Assyriological discovery, the chronology of the Old Testament cannot be maintained throughout. Further, there are statements here and there in the histories, which, to say the least, are very difficult to reconcile with our information from other sources. It may be also that there are occasional anachronisms in these histories. Written in some cases hundreds of years after the events occurred, the record may sometimes be colored by the opinions of a later age. Especially, in the case of the reports of speeches, we should scarcely expect to be supplied in every case with the *ipsissima verba*. Yet it is not upon these negative aspects that the emphasis should be laid. Modern science and the world's philosophy have not surpassed the statement, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." The science of Egyptology stands surprised at the marvelous accuracy of the biblical historians. Tablets from the ruins of Babylon and Assyria testify to the trustworthiness of these accounts. And the final result of the most careful criticism, in the light of information from a thousand sources, is to establish the essential truth, accuracy and fidelity of the narratives of the Hebrew historiographers.

THE LIVING WORD, HEBREWS 4:12.

By THOMAS F. DAY,
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The "Word of God" in its profoundest sense is he who is called the Logos by preëminence. The whole doctrine of divine revelation rests ultimately upon two great truths. First, God in his essential being is One "whom no man hath seen nor can see," yet, One who desires to draw near to men in loving fellowship; but such a drawing near is forbidden by the infinitude of his being and the limitations of humanity. Second, the Logos, the second person of the Trinity, makes such fellowship possible. He interprets the unseen God to finite and perishing men. This theanthropic person, moving in the sphere of revelation, is the first of the prophets, and the source of all prophetic authority. In all theophanies his person is the central and essential fact. He is Yahweh of the Old Testament, and Jesus Christ of the New.

From this point of view the characteristic feature of divine revelation is the theophany. Apart from the Logos a theophany is impossible, and without a theophany there could be no revelation. Through him every communication from God is mediated.

Generally, therefore, in Scripture the Word of God signifies something which the Logos directly communicates to men. Attention is here confined to the biblical revelation. Whether the communication was by dream or vision, or by internal spiritual impression, or by external manifestation, it was called the Word of God. They who received it said, "Surely God is in this place." The earliest believers had only this to bind them to the unseen. By this they received their effectual calling; by this their faith was quickened and their hope sustained; by this God proved himself their personal friend and guide while they sojourned in the land of promise. Choosing the simplest means

of communication he varied the mode that none might become stereotyped. Thus he impressed himself indelibly upon their minds as the living God. The medium was transitory, but the revelation was permanent; the vision faded, but its eternal significance remained; the instrument of revelation sank out of sight before its glorious content. The outcome of all was that the men of the covenant drew near and ever nearer to Yahweh, the God of the covenant, whose self-revealing was their life and peace. This is indeed the end of all revelation, to bring men into fellowship with the fountain of life.

This intimate communion with the Living One gave to every spoken word a living potency; the message came straight from his presence, warm with the breath of his lips. It passed from the patriarchs to their children, receiving at intervals fresh accessions from the mouth of Yahweh. It was the main source of public instruction; it formed the staple of prophetic preaching. It is not improbable that there were inspired prophets who delivered the word of Yahweh to Israel and Judah whose very names, together with their proclamation, perished with their times. But a small part of the ancient oral teaching finds place in the Bible. Of the abundant ministrations of the Old Testament prophets only a splendid fragment remains. Similarly we know that what the New Testament omits of the words and deeds of Christ and his apostles, would fill many larger volumes than what it records. *Ex uno discit omnes.* No word of prophecy that bore the divine seal fell fruitless to the ground. The virtue of God's word depended not on pen of scribe. The oral message sped upon its errand, accomplishing that which he pleased, prospering in the thing whereto he sent it. The unwritten words of Jesus were as full of grace and truth as those which are recorded.

The Word of God has lost none of its vitality and invincible energy by passing into writing. The canonical Scriptures are God-breathed. In them it has pleased God to stereotype his revelation, yet so as not to interrupt the perennial flow of its vital current. Divine truth like molten gold ran into molds prepared for it. First the Hebrew tongue received it, then the Greek; the former, the intuitive language of childhood and nature; the lat-

ter, the reflective speech of manhood and supreme culture. From these it received its first linguistic flavor. These could not keep it, however, in their exclusive possession. "The Word of God is not bound." Its vitality keeps it ever in motion. Claiming every language of earth for its own, it uses each as a channel through which to pour its fertilizing streams.

The translations of the Bible exhibit marked characteristics of their own, for every new channel gives its specific color to the stream. The languages of mankind differ widely in respect to quality; some are vastly more sensitive than others to the finer phases of thought and feeling. Missionaries are sometimes compelled to invent terms for spiritual ideas. There are tribes in the South Sea Islands whose vocabularies originally had no word for God.

What shall we say then? Is the "Word of God" a misnomer when applied to the Scriptures translated into these scant vernaculars? We answer, No. Take the Bible in the most imperfect form in which it may be found; its vocabulary meager and halting; its freedom hampered; its moral beauty obscured and its power diminished; and we confidently affirm that even in such a form it is the power of God unto salvation. It is true that it does not rank with Luther's translation or that of the English revisers, but to all divine intents and purposes it is the Word of God for the tribe to whom Christian zeal has given it. By this we mean that the undying energy of truth is in it; it has power over human consciences; it gives the knowledge of sin, and proclaims the fullness of redeeming grace. It reveals the lineaments of the God-man, whose gracious call sounds divinely sweet in the rudest language spoken by man.

God's wisdom outruns us here; he pours his heavenly treasure into such vessels as the nations have at hand to receive it. Crude and incapacious as they are, they fulfill the purpose of his grace. As in the incarnation God came down to man's level in order to redeem him, so through these uncouth reproductions his word descends on the same merciful errand to the very lowest plane on which human intelligence moves.

In saying this we do not lose sight of the fact that the stand-

ard of revealed truth for all the world is found in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. By that standard all must be verified and tested. As the nations increase in intelligence, the various translations will be improved by being brought into more strict conformity with the original. But before the day of better versions comes, multitudes of souls will find God in Christ through the medium of these imperfect translations.

The cause of this perennial vigor is to be traced to the present activity of the Holy Spirit, whose work did not cease with the original promulgation of the divine word. He imparts to that word, spoken or written, his own boundless life. He breathes it daily as a fresh revelation to the souls of men. The Holy Spirit speaks to man as man. He is at home in every language. His illumination supplies the deficiencies of words. Mongrel dialects struggling to voice his truth become signs whereby he hails, convinces, and subdues the savage mind.

But the divine word becomes in the highest degree effective when it passes again out of its written form into that of articulate speech. We are in danger of not realizing the full import of the apostle's declaration that it is by "the foolishness of preaching" that the world is to be converted. What is preaching? It is not a mere repetition of the inspired word. It is something different from a homily based upon a text. Its distinctive mark is the unction of the Holy Ghost, whereby the truth of God and the personality of the preacher are fused into one; a regenerated man speaks forth the living word.

Apart from the necessity of interpretation, the truth of the Bible gets new charm and added power when uttered by the human voice. "Thoughts that breathe a divine life" spring from the lips in "words that burn" with heavenly fire. Thousands in Christian lands receive their first religious impressions through this instrumentality. Revivals everywhere attest its amazing power. Brainerd, preaching through an interpreter, who was himself at the time unconverted, wrought conviction in the hearts of hundreds of Indians. Missionary annals abound in similar examples. Popular usage calls the message from the

pulpit the word of God. This usage is plainly justified by the character and results of true preaching.

The Bible, although it contains the fundamental principles of divine truth, does not make specific application of these principles to all possible cases. Such application in its variety and wide extent is left to preaching. The pulpit, therefore, holds a unique place in the world by divine appointment ; its office is to make the living word contemporaneous with every age. Men will be set apart to the exercise of its high functions, in the future as in the past, by special anointing from above ; and it will remain for all time, until mankind is redeemed, a channel of converting grace.

SPINOZA AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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II.

Spinoza now proceeds to show that all books from Genesis to Kings present a coherent history, which aims at describing the ancient Jewish history from the origin of the people to the first destruction of the city, and from this follows, that the author of all these books was only *one and the same*. Having finished the narrative of the life of Moses, the author passes over to the history of Joshua with the words, "now after the death of Moses" (Josh. 1: 1). The same transition we find Judges 1: 1, "now after the death of Joshua;" to Judges is added by way of appendix the book of Ruth, "now it came to pass in the days when the Judges ruled." With Ruth, the author connects the first Book of Samuel, from which he passes over with the usual transition to the second book, and since the history of David is not yet finished, he joins to it the first Book of Kings, in which he continues the history of David, etc. The connection and the order of the narrative also indicate that it was only *one* historian, who had a special object in view. He commences with the first origin of the Hebrew nation, speaks of the laws of Moses given to this people, narrates the taking of the promised land, the apostasy of the people and its punishment; he then goes on to speak of the kings, pointing out that according to their obeying or disobeying the laws, they were either happy or unhappy, till finally the fall of the kingdom took place in consequence of disobeying the laws of God. Everything that did not contribute to the glorification of the Mosaic laws, the author either passed over with silence or referred the readers to other

writings. From the connection which outwardly and inwardly connects these books, and from the leading idea which rules the whole, Spinoza infers the unity of the authorship.¹

The author of all these books Spinoza supposes to be Ezra. The author who continued the history of Israel to the deliverance of Jehoiakin, cannot have lived before Ezra. During all this time the Scripture speaks only of Ezra as having "prepared his heart to seek the law of God, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments," who was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses" (Ezra 7: 6, 10), who explained the law (Neh. 8: 8). It is also probable that the book of Deuteronomy in its present form is a book of the law of God worked over by Ezra, as may be seen from such explanatory additions, as Deut. 2: 12 to vv. 3, 4; 10: 8, 9 to v. 5; from the introduction and all passages in which Moses is spoken of in the third person; also from the discrepancies in the decalogue, as the enlarged composition of the fourth commandment and the changed order in the tenth commandment. The book of Deuteronomy was probably worked over first by Ezra, because its beginning is not connected like the other books with the foregoing. Afterward he placed it in its present place in order to give a connected history from the creation to the first destruction of Jerusalem. He called his first five books after the name of Moses, because the latter's life is the main part thereof, and from the summary he took the denomination. The same was also the case with the following books as Joshua, Judges, Ruth, etc. But whether Ezra put the last file to this work and left it in such a finished state as he wished, we shall see in the following chapter.

Ezra, we are told by Spinoza in the ninth chapter, was not the final redactor. All that he did do was to collect the materials from different writers, made copies thereof, and left it without due examination and arrangement to posterity. Why Ezra did thus, Spinoza is at a loss to say. It may be that death prevented him from completing the work in all its parts. But that Ezra acted in that manner, may be seen from the few extant frag-

¹ What Bertheau, in introduction to his *Commentary on Judges*, p. xxvii, remarks fully coincides with Spinoza's result.

ments. Thus: 2 Kings 28:17 seq. is taken from Isa. 36 seq.; 2 Kings 25 from Jer. 52; 2 Sam. 7 from 1 Chron. 19.

From the chronological data, Spinoza also infers that different sources were before the redactor. Thus, *e.g.*, the narrative of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38. Here we read in the first verse, "and it came to pass at that time, that Judah went down from his brethren." This time must necessarily refer to the other which goes immediately before. But to this it cannot refer. The time intervening from Joseph's sale into Egypt to Jacob's arrival there amounts to about twenty-two years. Joseph's age when he was sold was seventeen, and when presented to Pharaoh, thirty. Computing the seven years of abundance and the two years of sterility, or 9+13 we have twenty-two years. During this time Judah should have married, his wife should have had three sons, the two first should have been of an age to espouse Tamar, and should have married her successively; that after the death of the second, Judah should have diverted Tamar for some time with the hope of a marriage with his third son; that she should have deceived him, and conceived twins, of whom the elder begat two sons. All this presupposes a different chronology.

In the life of Jacob, the chronology, too, according to Spinoza, is full of contradictions. According to Gen. 47:9, Jacob is 130 years old when presented to Pharaoh; deducting therefrom the twenty-two years of Jacob's separation from Joseph, the seventeen years of Joseph's age when he was sold, the seven years of service for Rachel, Jacob must have been eighty-four years when he took Leah for a wife. Dinah was seven years old when she was violated, and Simeon and Levi twelve to thirteen years when they massacred the Shechemites.

From this and other things, Spinoza infers that all is narrated pell-mell in the five books of the Pentateuch, that neither history nor narration is in the right place, that there is no regard to time, and all that we read there has been gathered and put confusedly together in order to be afterward sifted and arranged in proper order.

Spinoza also finds different sources in the book of Judges.

After a former narrator recorded in Joshua 24 the death of Joshua, and commenced to tell of the events after his death, (Judges 1:1 seq.), a new historian appears with Judges 2:6 seq. Spinoza also finds two records concerning David's appearance at Saul's court. According to the one, 1 Sam. 16, David was called to quiet, by music, Saul's evil spirit; according to the other, ch. 17, he was called in consequence of his victory over Goliath. The same difference, according to Spinoza, exists between ch. 26 and ch. 24, where Saul's meeting with David in the cave is narrated.

Spinoza finds a contradiction in the chronology of 1 Kings 6:1, where we read that Solomon completed the building of the temple in the 480th year after the exodus, a date which does not agree with the numbers given.

Moses ruled the people in the wilderness - - - - -	40 years
Joshua's leadership, according to Josephus and others, was 26 "	"
Chushan Rishathaim's oppression lasted - - - - -	8 "
Othniel judged - - - - -	40 "
Moabite oppression under Eglon - - - - -	18 "
Ehud and Shamgar - - - - -	80 "
Jabin's oppression - - - - -	20 "
Rest - - - - -	40 "
Midianite oppression - - - - -	7 "
Gideon - - - - -	40 "
Abimelech - - - - -	3 "
Tola - - - - -	23 "
Jair - - - - -	22 "
Oppression by Philistines and Midianites - - - - -	18 "
Jephthah - - - - -	6 "
Ibzan of Bethlehem - - - - -	7 "
Elon, the Zebulonite - - - - -	10 "
Abdon - - - - -	8 "
The Philistines again oppress Israel - - - - -	40 "
Samson - - - - -	20 "
Eli - - - - -	40 "
The Philistines again oppress Israel - - - - -	20 "
David's reign - - - - -	40 "
Solomon's reign to the building of the Temple - - - - -	4 "
<hr/>	
Total - - - - -	580 "

To this must be added the years after Joshua's death to the oppression under Chushan Rishathaim. In Judges 2: 7-10 the history of many years is certainly compressed. Besides, we must add the years of Samuel's and Saul's reign. The passage 1 Sam. 13: 1 is evidently corrupt, for the age of Saul when he commenced to reign is omitted, though it is stated that he reigned two years. But according to 1 Sam. 27: 7 David remained among the Philistines one year and four months, so that the rest of Saul's history must have transpired within eight months.¹ Finally, we must also add the years of anarchy, cf. Judg. 17 seq.

From all this Spinoza infers that the numbers of years cannot be fixed with safety from the historical books and that the different histories point to different chronologies. He also finds differences in the sources themselves. Thus the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" differ. According to 2 Kings 1: 17 Jehoram of Israel becomes king in the second year of Jehoram of Judah, and according to 2 Kings 8: 16, Jehoram of Judah becomes king in the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel.

Spinoza emphasizes the fact that the text as we have it now did not come down to us in a perfect state, and that mistakes have crept into it. This of course, he says, will be denied by those who assert that a special providence has watched over the text, and that the various readings contain deep mysteries. But these he regards as puerile cogitations. The similarity of the letters gave rise to mistakes, as the marginal notes prove. Besides these notes the copyists indicated many corrupt passages (by leaving a space in the midst of a sentence), the number of which, according to the Massorites, is twenty-eight. As an in-

¹ Kirkpatrick *in loco* (*Cambridge Bible*) says: "The Hebrew cannot thus [as in the A. V.] be translated. We must render *Saul was [] years old when he began to reign, and reigned [] and two years over Israel*. Either the numbers were wanting in the original document, or they have been accidentally lost. Thirty is supplied in the first place by some MSS. of the Sept., and is a plausible conjecture. The length of Saul's reign may have been twenty-two or thirty-two years. . . . The whole verse is omitted by the older copies of the Septuagint, and possibly was not in the original text."

stance of such corrupt passages he quotes Gen. 4: 8, "And Cain talked with Abel his brother and it came to pass, when they were in the field," etc.; where an empty space is left, we expect to hear what Cain said to his brother.¹

Chronicles.—At the beginning of the tenth chapter Spinoza speaks of Chronicles as having been written long after Ezra and perhaps after the restoration of the temple by Judas the Maccabaeus. For according to 1 Chron. 9: 3 seq., the families are mentioned which dwelt first—*i. e.*, in the time of Ezra—at Jerusalem. In v. 17 the porters are mentioned, of whom Neh. 11: 19 also mentions two. This shows that these books were written long after the restoration of the city. Who the author of these books was, Spinoza leaves undecided, though he is surprised at their reception into the canon, whereas the books of Wisdom, Tobit, and others, which are called apocryphal, were omitted.

Psalms.—The Psalms, too, were collected during the second temple and divided into five books. The 88th Psalm was, according to the testimony of Philo, composed when king Jehoiakin was still imprisoned at Babylon, and the 89th after his release.

Proverbs.—The Proverbs of Solomon were collected about the same time, or at the earliest in the time of Josiah. Spinoza bases his opinion on ch. 25: 1: "These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." He goes on and says that he cannot pass over with silence the audacity of the rabbis who intended to exclude this book, together with that of Ecclesiastes, from the canon.

Prophetic Books.—Of these books Spinoza says that they contain fragments gathered together from other books, which were not always copied in the same order in which the prophets spoke or wrote.

Isaiah.—Isaiah commenced to prophesy under king Uzziah, as the copyist attests in the first verse. But he did not only prophesy at that time, but also described all the deeds of this king

¹ The empty space referred to here by Spinoza is called by the Massorites *piska*; for this comp. my art., *The masoretic Piska in the Hebrew Bible*, in *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature*, 1886.

in a book (comp. 2 Chron. 26: 22), which we now miss. What we have is copied from the chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel. The rabbis also tell that Isaiah also prophesied under King Manasseh, by whom he was finally killed.¹

Jeremiah.—The prophecies of Jeremiah are, according to Spinoza, without any chronological order, and contain repetitions and deviations. Thus chap. 21 speaks of the cause which led to Jeremiah's imprisonment, which takes place because he foretells to Zedekiah the fall of the city; ch. 22 breaks off and speaks of the prophecies addressed to Jehoiakin, Zedekiah's predecessor; ch. 25 contains the prophecies from the fourth year of Jehoiakim; then follow prophecies from the first year of that king, and thus it goes on without order, till finally ch. 38 returns again to ch. 21: 10 (as if these fifteen chapters were a mere parenthesis).

The imprisonment is described in ch. 38 and again differently in ch. 37. The other prophecies Spinoza regards as taken from the book which Jeremiah dictated to Baruch, which, according to ch. 36: 2, contained the prophecies of Jeremiah from Josiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakin. From this book chs. 45: 2 to 51: 59 also seem to have been taken.

Ezekiel.—Ezekiel is a fragment. This is already indicated in the first verses. The conjunction points to something which has already been said and connects with something that is to be said. But not only the conjunction, but also the whole connection presupposes other writings, for the thirtieth year, with which the book commences, indicates that the prophet goes on in the narrative, but does not begin it, which the writer himself also indicates by a parenthesis, v. 3: "The word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel." Spinoza also refers to Josephus *Antiq.*, 10: 9, where it is said that Ezekiel did prophecy that "Zedekiah shall not see Babylon," which we do not find in Ezekiel's book, but rather, ch. 17, that he should be taken captive to Babylon.²

¹ What befell Isaiah under Manasseh is related in the so-called *Ascensio Isaiae*; comp. my art., *Ascension of Isaiah* in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclop.*, vol. xi.

² Josephus *I. c.* 10: 7 (not 9) states not that Ezekiel did prophesy what we do not find in his book; he merely says that Zedekiah did not believe the prophecies of Jeremiah

Hosea.—Concerning this prophet Spinoza says that he is surprised that a prophet who prophesied more than eighty-four years should have left so little in writing. Carpzov says that God only suffered those prophecies to be written down which should be of use to the church of all times.

Jonah.—As a proof that we have not all the prophecies of the prophets, Spinoza also quotes Jonah, whose prophecies concern only the Ninevites, whereas he also prophesied to the Israelites, as may be seen from 2 Kings 14: 25.

Job.—Concerning the book of Job, Spinoza remarks that some say that Moses wrote it,¹ and that the whole history is only a parable.² Others have taken the history as true, and thought that this Job lived at the time of Jacob, whose daughter Dinah was Job's wife. Ibn Ezra in his commentary asserts that the book was translated from another language into Hebrew. Leaving this question undecided, Spinoza thinks that Job was a heathen of the highest strength of mind, for Ezekiel mentions him, ch. 14: 12, and believes that the change of fortune and Job's strength of mind induced many to dispute on divine providence, or at least the author to write the dialogue of this book. The contents and style do not resemble the work of one who was miserably sick and sitting in ashes, but of one sitting in his study and thinking over the matter.³ And here Spinoza goes on: "I should believe, with Ibn Ezra, that this book was translated from another language, since it seems to imitate heathenish poetry. For the father of the gods twice calls an assembly together, and Momus, here called Satan, replies with the greatest freedom to the speeches of God."

and Ezekiel, because they agreed that the city should be taken, and Zedekiah himself should be taken captive, but so that Ezekiel said that Zedekiah should not see Babylon, while Jeremiah said that the King of Babylon should carry him thither in bonds; comp. Jer. 32: 4, 5 with Ezek. 12: 13. But both oracles were fulfilled. Zedekiah was indeed taken to Babylonia, but saw it not because his eyes had been put out. Spinoza probably did not think of ch. 12: 13.

¹ Comp. Talmud *Baba bathra*, fol. 14 a, where we read: Moses wrote his book, the chapter of Balaam and Job.

² Talmud *Baba bathra* fol. 15 a: Job did neither exist nor was he created, but is a parable. This view is also held by many ancient and modern writers.

³ So, also Hobbes, *I. c.* p. 178.

Daniel.—This book contains, from the eighth chapter, the writings of Daniel himself. The first seven chapters, Spinoza thinks, were taken from the chronologies of the Chaldaeans. With Daniel, Spinoza connects the book of

Ezra, and thinks that the author is the same who continues to narrate the events of the Jewish history from the first captivity. With Ezra, Spinoza connects

Esther, on account of the conjunction with which this book begins. It cannot be the same book which Mordecai wrote, for in ch. 9: 20 another author speaks of Mordecai, that he wrote letters and what they contained. And in the same chapter, vs. 31, we read that queen Esther confirmed all things belonging to the festival of lots (Purim,) as well as all which was written in the book which was then (when these events were written) known to all. Concerning this book Ibn Ezra confesses, and every one must confess, that it was lost with the others. All other events of Mordecai, the historian reckons to the chronicles of the Persian kings. It can, therefore, not be doubted that this book, too, was written by the same author who narrated the events of Daniel and Ezra, and added to it the book of

Nehemiah, because it is called the second book of Ezra.

These four books, Daniel, Ezra, Esther and Nehemiah, Spinoza asserts to have been written by one and the same author, but by whom cannot even be surmised. As sources of this history Spinoza regards the annals of the princes and priests of the second temple mentioned Neh. 12: 23; I Macc. 16: 23, 24, which, however are now lost. That neither Ezra nor Nehemiah is the author of these books, Spinoza infers from Neh. 12: 9, 10, where the genealogy of the high priests down to Jaddua is given; the same Jaddua met Alexander the Great on his way to Jerusalem (Josephus *Antt.* 11, 8) and as this Jaddua, according to Philo, was the sixth and last high priest under the Persian rule, Spinoza asks whether some think that Ezra or Nehemiah had become so old as to outlive fourteen kings. He, therefore, is certain that these books were written long after the restoration of the temple-service by Judas the Maccabaeus, and this in order to do away with the spurious books of Daniel, Ezra and Esther, composed by the Sadducees.

Spinoza comes to the conclusion, that before the time of the Maccabees, the canon of the Old Testament books did not yet exist, and that those which we have now were selected by the Pharisees of the second temple. The reason for this is Daniel 12:2, where the resurrection is taught which the Sadducees denied, and because the Pharisees themselves express this plainly in the Talmud. Thus we read in Talmud, *Shabbath*, fol. 30, vol. 2: Rabbi Judah said in the name of Rao: the sages wished to suppress the book of Coheleth, because his word opposed those of the law. But why did they not suppress it? Because the beginning and the end of the book are in accordance with the law. The same they intended to do with the book of Proverbs. And finally we read, fol. 13, vol. 2, of the same treatise; remember that man with respect, his name is Hanauja, the son of Hezekiah. Had it not been for him, the book of Ezekiel would have been suppressed, because its contents were contradictory to the word of the law. From this Spinoza infers that the scribes first consulted how the books ought to be, ere they were received as sacred.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

BIBLE STUDY IN CONNECTION WITH ORGANIZATIONS FOR CHRISTIAN WORK.

Situation.—There are in this country, in connection with the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Epworth League, the Baptist Young People's Union, the King's Daughters, and the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union, two million young people. Two-thirds of these are virtually pledged to read their Bibles every day. It is safe to say that as large a proportion as this have the consciousness that they *ought* to *study* their Bibles. As a matter of fact, they do not study their Bibles, because they do not find the material sufficiently interesting, because their time is too fully taken up with other things, and because there is no widespread sentiment among them in this connection. All of these societies are based chiefly upon the principle of Christian work—the doing, rather than the being. Sooner or later their interest must flag and their numbers decrease, unless a constantly increasing source of power is placed in their hands. If a progressive course of Bible study could lie back of all their work, it would have a sufficiently solid basis.

These young people are ready for such a course, provided it can be one which will meet their requirements and limitations.

The Institute club courses have been tried, to some extent, by a few of the members of these organizations. The results show that the work, as it has formerly been marked out for them, is too difficult; it requires too great an expenditure of time; it presupposes a larger interest in the subject than exists; it is too expensive.

After three years of consideration and experiment, the Institute has therefore decided that one course, which is adaptable to all these organizations, shall be prepared; that this course shall be followed each year by a new course, giving in four or five years a complete outline study of the Bible, but so arranged that each course shall be complete in itself, and any year can be the first year to those coming in for the first time. From the point of view of the organizations, this course must (a) require an expenditure of not more than fifteen minutes a day; (b) the necessary cost per member must be not more than fifty cents a year; (c) it must require no stringent examinations; (d) its work must come within the nine months from October to June, in order to accommodate itself to the working year of the organizations; (e) the subject must be attractive; (f) there must be a social element, which will permit the

gathering of the members in clubs for concerted work. From the standpoint of the Institute, this course must be (a) an inductive study, however simple; (b) it must allow a progressive series of courses, covering the Bible in some logical order; (c) it must have an element answering to the examination principle.

It is therefore proposed for the first year to outline a course of study upon the Life of Christ.

The only material which shall be required for the use of students or of a club, besides the Revised Version of the Bible, shall be a small book upon Palestinian geography, the smaller Cambridge Bibles upon the Four Gospels, and a brief volume upon the Life of Christ. All students shall pay an annual fee of fifty cents to the Institute. They shall receive in return a monthly examination paper, which shall be of the nature of memoranda, rather than a genuine examination, the questions upon which students shall be *urged* to answer from *memory*, but not required to do so, and upon which they may receive criticism by the payment of a double fee. At the end of the year all persons having sent in the requisite number of papers during the year shall receive a certificate.

In addition to the examination questions, the Institute will provide each member with a direction sheet, containing general directions for Bible study, the use of the note book, etc., and all such other helps in the way of pamphlets, maps, pictures, etc., as the Institute shall be able to provide. In connection with the plan, provision will be made for a traveling collection of Palestinian pictures and curios which will throw local coloring upon the study of the Life of Christ. Persons in Jerusalem have already been communicated with in regard to making the collections. Lecture courses can also be arranged for. They may be upon some special phase of Christ's life or teaching, and may be illustrated with the stereopticon.

Exploration and Discovery.

NOTES FROM LONDON.

By ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

The Rassam *vs.* Budge libel case has been the chief subject of conversation in Museum and Oriental circles during the past three weeks. The following editorial from the *Daily News* of July 4 is to the point: "Mr. Rassam has obtained a verdict for fifty pounds as damages in his action against Mr. Budge of the British Museum. It is enough. Mr. Rassam was the gentleman who took out the famous letter to King Theodore of Abyssinia, and was imprisoned, and afterwards handsomely indemnified for his pains. Subsequently, he conducted excavations at Abu Habbah in the interests of the British Museum, but, greatly to the disgust of the Museum, the best things discovered did not find their way to the national collection. Other museums obtained them of the private brokers into whose hands they passed. Mr. Budge, a British Museum official, expressed himself too freely on the subject in regard to the conduct and the responsibility of Mr. Rassam. He said that we only got the rubbish, and that the foreigners got the good things, and, moreover, that they got them through the negligence of Mr. Rassam, or with his connivance. He went so far as to say that the overseers employed were relations of Mr. Rassam, and that they furthered his private breaches of trust. This was not true; they were not Mr. Rassam's relations; they only said they were; and the Eastern imagination is so luxuriant. Mr. Rassam maintained that he sent home all that he found, and that it was not his fault if precious things were afterwards found by others and sold at a good profit. It was his misfortune, beyond question, for, as the mound was excavated at the expense of his employers, all the tablets should have gone to them. Mr. Budge made what most persons would have considered an ample apology, but this was not enough for Mr. Rassam or for his counsellors. Sir Henry Layard and Mr. Renouf gave evidence on behalf of Mr. Rassam, and the trial was, in some respects, a sort of antiquarian festival." *The Athenæum* of July 8 voices the sentiments of a great majority of Orientalists. "Most people will regret that Mr. Rassam ever went into the law courts against Dr. Budge, and few will think that the latter has been otherwise than hardly

treated. Dr. Budge's zeal no doubt led him into accepting hastily statements which were untrue, because they seemed to him to account for the poor results obtained by the museum from the excavations at Abu Habbah. But it is to be remembered that when he first repeated these statements, Sir H. Layard was the only person present who was not an official of the museum ; and on the second occasion, when he called on Sir H. Layard, he had been directed by his official chief to tell Sir Henry all he knew. It was evident, therefore, that he had no malice against Mr. Rassam, nor any idea except that of promoting the interests of the museum. Dr. Budge has done much good work for the museum, both by his labors in Bloomsbury and his visits to the East. Nor have his services been confined to Egyptology, as it was he who secured the papyrus containing the 'Constitution of Athens' and the other papyri which have lately increased our knowledge of Greek literature." Dr. Budge is popular with his colleagues in the museum, and, since the trial, the keepers and assistants have combined to present him with a cheque in settlement of his damages. The feeling here is that Budge acted throughout in the interests of the museum, and hence it would be unfair to allow him personally to suffer.

THE next number of Dr. Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, due (in Europe) about August 15 or 20, will contain : (1) A complete calculation of the Saros period, by Fathers Epping and Strassmaier ; (2) *ti'u-erysipelas*, by Sanitätsrath M. Bartel ; (3) on *Lapislazuli*, by Professor H. V. Hilprecht ; (4) Texts from Constantinople, by Father Scheil. In this connection it will be well to notice for the first time in print the proposed "Semitische Studien," by Bezold and Emil Felber, the publisher. Having been compelled to exclude many articles from their journal on account of their length, and in order to collect "such papers in convenient form, hoping thereby to advance Semitic studies, C. Bezold and E. Felber have determined to publish a series of" *Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, "to appear at short and convenient intervals. Each number will contain one communication, and be complete in itself. The scope of these studies will include unpublished texts in all the Semitic languages ; notes on comparative philology, palæography, and epigraphy ;" and monographs upon the chronology, history, and geography, religions, art, culture, and legal systems of the inhabitants of the countries of the Semitic races." The first numbers will be (1) by K. Vollers ; (2) and (3) by Dr. E. A. W. Budge, and (4) by Father Strassmaier. Each number will contain at least 80 pp. octavo.

THE "Long Vacation Lectures in Theology at Oxford" are in progress. This course of lectures is held from July 17-29, and it is so arranged that those who are unable to remain during the whole time, may attend complete courses in either week. The fee for the two weeks is one pound ; for one week fifteen shillings. The following is the complete schedule :

FIRST WEEK.

MONDAY, July 17.	TUESDAY, July 18.	WEDNESDAY, July 19.	THURSDAY, July 20.	FRIDAY, July 21.	SATURDAY, July 22.	HOURS.
DR. SANDAY, Characteristics of the Apostolic Age.	DR. SANDAY'S Second Lecture.	DR. SANDAY'S Third Lecture.	MR. LOCKE. Sayings of Our Lord not recorded in the Gospels.	MR. LOCKE'S Second Lecture.	MR. LOCKE'S Second Lecture.	{ 10 a. m.
MR. OTTLEY. Old Testament Theology.	MR. OTTLEY'S Second Lecture.	MR. OTTLEY'S Third Lecture.	MR. OTTLEY'S Fourth Lecture.	MR. OTTLEY'S Fifth Lecture.	MR. OTTLEY'S Fifth Lecture.	{ 11 a. m.
DR. BRIGHT. Some Movements of Thought in Early Church History.	DR. BRIGHT'S Second Lecture.	DR. BRIGHT'S Third Lecture.	DR. BRIGHT'S Fourth Lecture.	DR. BRIGHT'S Fifth Lecture.	DR. BRIGHT'S Fifth Lecture.	{ 12 noon.
MR. HARRISON. Some Modern Difficulties of Belief.		MR. HARRISON'S Second Lecture.				{ 6:15 p. m.
DR. INCE. Introductory Address.		MR. INGRAM. Working Men's Clubs their possibilities and methods of manage- ment.	DR. MEE. The Clergy and Church Music.	Conference; The attitude of the Church towards Social Questions. Introduced by the Bp. of CHESTER.		{ 8:30 p. m.

SECOND WEEK.

MONDAY, July 24.	TUESDAY, July 25.	WEDNESDAY, July 26.	THURSDAY, July 27.	FRIDAY, July 28.	SATURDAY, July 29.	HOURS.
MR. GORE. The Epistle to the Romans.	MR. GORE'S Second Lecture.	MR. GORE'S Third Lecture.	MR. GORE'S Fourth Lecture.	MR. GORE'S Fifth Lecture.	MR. GORE'S Fifth Lecture.	{ 10 a. m.
MR. HEADLAM. The Gospel ac- cording to Peter.	PROF. SAYCE. The bearing of recent Oriental Discovery on O. T. Criticism.	PROF. SAYCE'S Second Lecture.	DR. DRIVER, An Exegetical Study of Hosea.	DR. DRIVER'S Second Lecture.	DR. DRIVER'S Third Lecture.	{ 11 a. m.
CANON BERNARD.	CANON BERNARD'S Second Lecture.	CANON BERNARD'S Third Lecture.	BP. OF SALISBURY. The Holy Commu- nion in the Early Centuries.	BP. OF SALISBURY'S Second Lecture.	BP. OF SALISBURY'S Third Lecture.	{ 12 noon.
MR. JACKSON.	CANON HICKS. Ephesus and the Temple of Diana.	CANON HICKS, St. Paul and Hellen- ism.	CANON HICKS, St. Paul and Hellen- ism.	CANON HICKS, St. Paul and Hellen- ism.	CANON HICKS, St. Paul and Hellen- ism.	{ 6:15 p. m.
SIR C. WILSON.	Palestine Explora- tion in its relation to Scripture History.				Discussion on the results of the Meeting.	{ 8:30 p. m.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE DIFFICULT WORDS OF CHRIST. III. THINGS OLD AND NEW. By REV. JAMES STALKER, D.D., in *The Expositor* for July, 1893.

The passage considered is found in Matt. 13:52. The name which our Lord employs for Christian teachers is noteworthy; he calls them scribes—"every scribe who is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven." The "scribes," in the New Testament, and especially in Christ's own history, occupy a sinister position, and theirs is an evil name. However, their occupation was with the Word of God, and in this respect analogous to that of the teachers and preachers in the new order of things which Christ came to found. The "scribes" failed in their duty. They misused the Scriptures. Those who were instructed so as to be of use in forwarding Christianity must so use the Word as Christ himself had used it.

The equipment of the Christian teacher is called a "treasure." It is not the Bible, nor anything outside himself; it is within him. It is a storehouse or magazine in the mind, which he has filled with spiritual accumulations. Some of these are obtained from Scripture by personal study and appropriation of its teachings. Some are derived from personal religious experiences, and some consist of acquaintance with the experiences of others. Hence it appears how enormously the treasures of different Christian teachers differ from one another; both in quality and quantity. This treasure is to be emptied out again for the good of the world and our Lord indicates how this is to be done in the words—"bringeth out of his treasure things new and old." The common interpretation which takes this phrase to recommend a pleasing variety in Christian teaching is entirely beneath the height and dignity of Christ's teaching. The connection shows that Jesus had been teaching many things in parables, and that he commends its use to his disciples also. "Things new and old" is a characterization of his own method of parabolic teaching. If we understand by the old the well known and familiar, and by the new the unknown or unfamiliar, a parable may be defined to be a familiar incident setting forth an unfamiliar truth. The old and the new are not, therefore, to be brought out of the treasure apart—sometimes one and sometimes the other—but they are to be brought forth together, in such a way that what is already well-known and familiar may become the stepping-stone to ascend to what is novel and recondite.

This interpretation of "things new and old" lays the emphasis on the mode of teaching rather than on the contents, on the pictorial illustrations of truth rather than

on the truth to be illustrated. Illustration, whether by parable or otherwise, is no doubt a valuable adjunct in presenting spiritual truth; but to understand our Lord as referring wholly or even chiefly to this seems "entirely beneath the height and dignity" of his words. The truth, whether new or old, is the essential thing; the mode in which it is presented is altogether subordinate and incidental.

P. A. N.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY. VII. THE DOCTRINE OF SIN.
By Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for July, 1893.

St. Paul's negative doctrine concerning justification, viz., that it is not attainable by the method of legalism, resolves itself practically into the Pauline doctrine of sin, which embraces four particulars:

(1) The statement concerning the general prevalence of sin in the "sin section" of the Epistle to the Romans. This popular argument does not prove that salvation by works is impossible, but that it is very unlikely. Without distinction of Jew or Gentile, it is clear that, whatever might be possible for the exceptional few, the way of legal righteousness could never be the way of salvation for the million. This conclusion, however, the Apostle is not content to rest, either on the appeal to observation nor on citations from the Hebrew Psalter.

(2) The necessary supplement is to be found in the famous passage concerning Adam and Christ (Rom. 5:12-21). This vindicates the Apostle's whole doctrine of justification, both on its negative and on its positive side. The religious history of the world is here summed up under two representative men. Between these two St. Paul draws a parallel in so far as both by their action influenced their whole race. It may be said that the Apostle here supplies a supplementary proof of the impossibility of attaining unto salvation by personal righteousness—a proof which converts his first statement concerning the general prevalence of sin into an absolutely universal doctrine as to the sinfulness of man. This new proof starts from the universal prevalence of death, which is the wages of sin. All men die because all men are sinners. But if so, men must have sinned before the giving of the law. But how could that be if where there is no law there is no transgression, and if by the law comes the knowledge of sin? The answer to this question Paul finds in the great principle of solidarity, or the moral unity of mankind. The first man sinned, and that is enough. By one man sin entered into the world, and death followed in its track legitimately, righteously, because when one man sinned all sinned. Such I take to be the meaning of the famous text Romans 5:12. The rendering of the Vulgate, *in quo omnes peccaverunt*, is grammatically wrong but essentially right. The common interpretation, that death passed upon all men because all men personally sinned, is not true to the fact. For those who die in infancy have not so sinned.

In the famous comparison between Adam and Christ sin and righteousness are conceived of *objectively* as two great antagonistic forces fighting against each other, not so much *in* man as *over* him, the one manifesting itself in

death, the other in life. From the day that Adam sinned sin showed the reality of its power by the death which overtook successive generations of mankind. The existence of an Adam through whom the race was condemned made it necessary that there should appear a second Adam, in whose righteousness it might be righteous. The objection that it is unjust and unreasonable that one man should suffer for another man's sins must not be pressed, for modern science, by its doctrine of heredity, has made it more manifest than ever that the solidarity of mankind is a great fact and not merely a theological theory, and that the only question is as to the best way of stating it so as to conserve all moral interests.

(3) It must be shown, furthermore, that sin is a power in man as well as above him. This demonstration the apostle supplies in his statement as to the sinful proclivity of the flesh, Romans, ch. 7. It takes the form of a personal confession. "I am carnal, sold under sin, for what I do I know not; for not what I wish to do, but what I hate, this I do." Personal in form, the confession is really the confession of humanity. The ego that speaks is that of the human race. It is not St. Paul's flesh that is at fault, it is *the flesh*, the flesh which all men wear, the flesh in which dwells sin. Of the origin of this bias in the flesh toward evil he gives no account. The nearest hint to an answer is to be found in the terms in which, in 1 Cor. 15, the first man is described as in contrast to the second, only a living soul, psychical as distinct from spiritual, and of the earth, earthly. These expressions seem to point in the direction of a nature not very different from our own, and altogether suggest an idea of the primitive state of man not quite answering to the theological conception of original righteousness.

(4) The last particular in the Pauline doctrine of sin is the statement concerning the effect of the law's action on the sinful proclivity of the flesh. On this point the apostle teaches that in consequence of the evil bias of the flesh, the law, so far from being the way to righteousness, is rather simply a source of the knowledge of sin, and an irritant to sin. This topic is handled chiefly in Romans 7:7, seq. The law must have been instituted, therefore, with reference to an ulterior system which should be able to realize the legally impossible, and intended to be superseded when it had served its purpose. This purpose was to prepare for the advent of the Son of God, who, coming in the likeness of sinful flesh, and with reference to sin, should condemn sin in the flesh, and help believers in him to be indeed sons of God. The law, however, does more than bring to consciousness human depravity. In doing that it at the same time makes man aware that there is more in him than sin,—an inner man in a state of protest against the deeds of the outer man. This duality is at once my misery and my hope: my misery, for it is wretched to be drawn two ways; my hope, for I ever feel that my flesh and my sin, though mine, are not myself. This feeling all may share. On the bright hopeful side, as well as on the darker, St. Paul is the spokesman for the race.

The foregoing series of articles accentuates the value of a scientific biblical theology in the interpretation of Scripture. Had the writings of Paul been studied as a whole, and for the purpose of ascertaining what they really teach, he could not have been held responsible for so many unreasonable doctrines which an *a priori* theology and an uncompromising logic have deduced from him. Fairly and self-consistently interpreted he preaches a gospel as broad and sympathetic as that of Christ himself.

P. A. N.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EZRA II. AND IV. 6-23. I. By the RIGHT REV. LORD ARTHUR C. HERVEY, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells, in *The Expositor* for June, 1893. Pages 431-443.

The difficulty in Ezra 2 arises from the fact that this chapter is a duplicate of Neh. 7. Are the two passages identical in the sense that they are borrowed one from the other? If so, which chapter is the original and which is transcribed from the other? By a comparison of the two accounts of the offerings for the temple service in Ezra 2:68-69, and Neh. 7:70-72, some interesting discoveries are made. Evidently there are several words lost and evidences of text corruption, especially in the numbers. The difference in the proper names in the two are probably due to clerical carelessness. Everything goes to prove that the original document belongs to Nehemiah. (1) He tells us in Chap. 7:5-6 on what occasion he found and used this document. By verses 6-60 the claims of all who came up "to be reckoned by genealogies" were tried. A few presented themselves who could not prove their claims to a place in Zerubbabel's register, and so were omitted from Nehemiah's roll. Some were also found who claimed to be priests who could produce no register of their genealogy, and were set aside until the high priest by the Urim and Thummim decided regarding their claims to the priesthood. All this is manifestly no part of Zerubbabel's register, but a record of what happened in pursuance of Nehemiah's project in verse 5.

(2) Neh. 7:66-69 contains what is still more conclusive. The number in verse 66 f. is not the total in Zerubbabel's list, but the total of those whom Nehemiah "gathered together to reckon by genealogies." This is indicated by the obvious probability of the case, by the discrepancy of the numbers, and by the place in the narrative where the enumeration comes in at an interval of four verses after the close of the list, and by the use of the word *haq-qa-hal* congregation (verse 66). The difference between the sum total of 42,360 and the total of the items, 30,000, represents the increase in the population during the years which had elapsed since Zerubbabel's census was taken. (3) Again, Ezra 2:68, "house of the Lord," clearly implies that the "house of the Lord"—not standing in the reign of Cyrus—was now one of the buildings of the city. (4) The crowning evidence is the mention of "Tirshatha," who was certainly Nehemiah himself (*cf.* chap. 8:9). If this is Nehemiah, can it be any one else in Ezra, 2:63? If Ezra 2 treats of

Nehemiah how can it be a part of the history of the times of Zerubbabel and Cyrus?

Nehemiah then is the original text, and Ezra 2 was an insertion of a later redactor from this document.

This is not so satisfactory or conclusive a discussion as we could wish of this troublesome chronological snarl. Bishop Hervey is quite too dogmatic in his assertions of certain results. When the second part appears we may have some additional light on his method of solution.

PRICE.

ARE THERE METRES IN OLD TESTAMENT POETRY? ANCIENT STATEMENTS AND MODERN THEORIES. By PROFESSOR EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D.D., in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July, 1893. Pages 440-449.

Philo and Josephus were the pioneers in the view that the poetry of the Old Testament was metrical in form. The church fathers largely sympathized with them and gave currency to the same opinions. It now seems that those pioneers intentionally misrepresented the facts in order to put Hebrew poetry on a par with Greek. Early in the seventeenth century a Dutch professor at Groningen became the leading adventurer of modern explorers in this line. He found as a result of his principles that Hebrew verse is like that of Latin and Greek, only that *each verse has its own kind*. The wits of his day said of his scheme: "*Gomari lyram delirare.*" The eighteenth century records the vain delusions of such metre-finders as Jones, Greve, Bishop Hare, Weisse, Drechsler, Lautwein, and Anton. Early in this century appeared several new *patent-applied-for* schemes in explaining the venerable poetry of Israel, such as Bellerman and Saalschütz. The last half of this century also has its roster of metrical *prospectors*. Among them may be named Meier, Peters, Ley, Bickell, Briggs, and Ball. Everything of metre in Hebrew poetry thus far advocated submits the text to unwarrantable emendations, interpolations, and literary violence. Metre in Hebrew poetry is little less than an *ignis fatuus*.

PRICE.

OLD WINE IN FRESH WINE SKINS. By PROFESSOR HOWARD OSGOOD, D.D., in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1893. Pages 460-486.

The old wine of biblical criticism is presented to the consumer in such fresh wine skins as Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" and in Cornill's "Einleitung in das Alte Testament." Both scholars represent the same school of criticism, and are among the leading critics in England and Germany respectively. For comprehensive grasp of the situation and full facing of the sea the German is the captain on the bridge. He is entirely at ease on his vessel in the sea of criticism. The Englishman, on the other hand, has scarcely become *sea-mated* on these waters. It takes him

one-third longer to make the same trip, because all the way he tries to keep in sight of land without wrecking on the rocks. He uses the Kuenen compass, but for the sake of his passengers keeps within sighting range of the shore.

These works are marvellously faithful reprints of the critical views of Hermann Samuel Reimarus, author of "The Apology or Defence of the Rational Worshippers of God," which appeared in Hamburg in 1767. With a little shading here or lightening there, not only Cornill and Driver, but all such uniformed and skilled operators have used the same critical negatives. Higher criticism is neither new nor modern. Its germ dates from the second, its evolution and development from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Voltaire and the deistic Frederick II. of Prussia were among its most vigorous promoters about the middle of the eighteenth century. Kuenen, of our own century, himself a deist, held practically the old ground. He rejected the supernatural, the miraculous, and immediate revelation. Consistently, too, he maintained his ground. But this jewel is rarely found among his professed followers outside of the continent of Europe.

But this school of criticism, the world around, is cloistered. As if behind convent walls, shut off from the news of the past, it pores over its musty manuscripts, framing rules for detecting documents, devising dates, discussing development in the literary and religious history of Israel. But outside of their thick-walled, narrow-windowed confines there is bright light. This last half of the nineteenth century has produced arc-lights for the critic. The dynamos are located on the Nile and in the Mesopotamian valley. Only those who stay behind their adamantine walls of prejudice and cover their windows with the blinds of a false logic entirely ignore these new helps. Literature and history are all ablaze with this light. Civilization was old before Moses day. Language and religion were existent in remarkably perfect forms one thousand years before Israel's sojourn in Egypt. Southwestern Asia and Egypt were occupied at least two thousand years B. C. by peoples who had reached maturity in many respects in the chief elements of civilization. These facts are unchallenged by the best archæological scholarship of this day. How, then, can critics of recognized ability in other respects silently ignore this line of research? It simply cannot be done. This new-old history will compel recognition, particularly by men who claim to be historical critics. These facts once acknowledged and accepted, the foundation theories of these introductions are swept away as with a flood. Israel was not so far beneath its neighbors in language, religion, morals, and care for their sacred records. They were Semites, and among the best and brightest of them. Why then should they be, as these introductions make them appear, thousands of years behind the other Semitic peoples? These works imagine a state of society and religion before the age of David in blank contradiction to the facts revealed by the monuments. This purely imaginary society and religion give their theory its basis. "If these results of Egyptology and Assyriology are true,

then there is far greater reason for placing the composition of the Pentateuch in the classic age than in the age of the decline and abasement of Western Asiatic and Egyptian literature." Again, the New Testament is shut out of the race by Driver's preface as incompetent. How "strange to read eight hundred pages of criticism of the Old Testament by two Christian theological professors and never meet once with a mention of Christ or of the Holy Spirit or of the witness of the New Testament!" Kuenen cast the die for this stamp when he said, "We must either cast aside as worthless our dearly-bought scientific method, or must forever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament *in the domain of the exegesis of the Old*. Without hesitation we choose the latter alternative" (*Prophets*, p. 448.)

But another and better school of criticism has arisen. It begins where the truest science begins, in the consciousness of each individual. Experimental religion, personal union with the Master, the aid of the Holy Spirit in the understanding of the Word, promise still more lasting and eternal conquests for the Bible and the Church.

Dr. Osgood insists on a broader study of criticism. To weigh correctly its results necessitates a careful examination of its history and of the latest discourses in the East. These points are essential and must be given due regard in the settlement of critical views.

PRICE.

Notes and Opinions.

Professor Bruce as a Leader of Thought in Scotland.—The Reverend Arthur Jenkinson has a very interesting article in the July *Thinker* on the Reverend Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D., as a Leader of Thought in Scotland. After speaking of the new feeling for the historic Christ which is characteristic of the present age, he writes: "No one represents this modern return to the Christianity of Christ so adequately or consistently as he does. The whole endeavor of his life has been to get back to the Christ of the gospels. Almost everything he has written has been an illustration and vindication of this movement. Through spiritual sympathy and imaginative insight it has been his life-long effort to understand Jesus."

Of Professor Bruce's influence, he writes: "There are hundreds of young men in Great Britain who would thankfully acknowledge that when they were sorely smitten with the malady of doubt, when the ground seemed slipping from them on all sides, the writings of Professor Bruce brought them just the help they needed."

Professor Bruce was born in 1831 in the rural parish of Aberdalgie, near Perth. His father was an elder in the parish church. "All through his childhood he must have heard the din of the 'Ten Years Conflict' which preceded the Disruption." The issue was between what was considered the latitudinarianism of the old church and the rigid orthodoxy handed down from the covenanters. Those who upheld the strict faith of the covenanters revolted and formed the Free Church. "Those were anxious and stirring times. Some of the most bitter controversies and troubles of that period sprang up in Perthshire. Keen discussions took place during the long winter nights concerning religion and the difficulties of the church, and when, in 1843, the great Disruption took place, Professor Bruce's father threw in his lot with the Free Church. And when, two years later, Alexander Bruce, still a mere boy, went up to Edinburgh and began his long course of study, first at the University, and afterwards in the new Divinity Hall of the Free Church, the evangelical fervor was at its height. Chalmers was still living, and Candlish, Cunningham, and Guthrie were the leading ministers of the city." But neither the creed nor the life of the church took hold on the young student. Thomas Carlyle was then doing his great work, and Bruce was one of the many who admired and revered him. In 1855 Dr. Bruce received license, and in 1859 was ordained. The intervening years were years of spiritual darkness and unrest. But during these years he found the Jesus of the Gospels.

With this experience he went to Cardross in 1859, his first parish. There by the shores of the Clyde he lived a quiet student life. His ministry was stimulating and helpful. The fruit of his ten years at Cardross is seen in his book, *The Training of the Twelve*. In the introduction, he states that it embodies thoughts that had occupied him from the beginning of his ministry. "It is very much more than a solid contribution to the study of the life and teaching of Christ. It is full of spiritual insight and inspiration; preëminently a book for ministers. In it we see its gifted author endeavoring to realize his own ideal of preachers of the gospel, 'men to whom a return to the evangelic fountains has been a necessity of their own spiritual life, possessing the power of historical imagination to place themselves side by side with Jesus as if they belonged to the circle of his personal companions and disciples, so gaining a clear vivid vision of his spirit, character and life, and becoming thoroughly imbued with his enthusiasms, his sympathies, and his antipathies, and with this experience behind them, the fruit of much thought and careful study, coming forth and saying to their fellow men in effect: 'That which was from the beginning which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, declare we unto you.'"

The Training of the Twelve was published in 1871, after the author had removed to Broughty-Ferry. In 1874 he was appointed Cunningham Lecturer, and selected for his subject, "*The Humiliation of Christ*." The lectures were published the following year. The Free Church had the wisdom to recognize his great gifts and appointed him to the chair of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the College at Glasgow.

Dr. Bruce has written on fundamental philosophical problems and has shown himself thoroughly abreast of modern speculation and research, but his best work, that to which he gives himself with enthusiasm and delight concerns the Person and Teaching of Christ. The scope and nature of his work are shown by the following list of published works: *The Training of the Twelve*, 1871. *The Humiliation of Christ*, 1875. *The Chief End of Revelation*, 1881. *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, 1882. *The Galilean Gospel*, 1883. *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, 1886. *The Life of Wm. Denny*, 1888. *The Kingdom of God*, 1889. *Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated*, 1892.

T. H. R.

Professor Bruce and the Higher Criticism.—From the same article in the *Thinker* we quote the following passages from Dr. Bruce regarding Revelation and the Bible. In his *Apologetics* (p. 298) his most recent work, published only a year ago, he writes: "To say that God gave a special revelation to Israel is not the same thing as to say that he gave to Israel a collection of sacred books. Revelation and the Bible are not synonymous. There was a revelation long before there was a Bible. God revealed himself in history as the God of the whole earth. . . . He revealed himself as a gracious electing God to the *consciousness* of Israel through spiritual insight into

the true significance of her history communicated to the prophets." The importance of this distinction between Revelation and the Bible in its bearing on the questions of the higher criticism is thus brought out in his work published twelve years ago, *The Chief End of Revelation* (p. 54): "If once we get it into our mind that Revelation is one thing, Scripture another though closely related thing, being in truth its record, interpretation, and reflection, it will help to make us independent of questions concerning the dates of books. When the various parts of the Bible were written is an obscure and difficult question on which much learned debate has taken place, and is still going on; and we must be content to let the debate run its course, for it will not be stopped either by our wishes or by ecclesiastical authority. And one thing which will help us to be patient is a clear perception, that the order in which revelation was given is to be distinguished from the order in which the books which contain the record thereof were written." On the delicate question of the relation of some of the conclusions of the higher criticism to inspiration, Professor Bruce makes the following remarks (*Apologetics*, p. 309): "If the critics are right, Hebrew editors could do without hesitation what we should think hardly compatible with literary honesty, mix up things old and new, ancient laws with recent additions, etc. . . . But what then? This may be crude morality, but it is not immorality. We must beware of laying down hard and fast abstract rules as to the conditions under which inspiration is possible."

T. H. R.

The Galilean Gospel.—Professor Bruce was asked by Mr. Jenkinson when he wrote *The Galilean Gospel*. He could not remember the year; but he knew it was written in the month of August. "It was a beautiful August," he said, "the world was full of joy and sunshine, and of the wealth and ripeness of summer. I was happy. The religion of Jesus seemed to me like the bright golden days, and I tried to write a book which would help men to feel that the Galilean Gospel was like God's summer, beautiful, life-giving, soul-satisfying." The above words with the following passage from the book referred to, (*The Galilean Gospel*, p. 6,) show well the spirit of Professor Bruce's work. "We desire to bring you back to the Galilean lake, to the haunts of Jesus, and to the *spirit* of Jesus, to the brightness and sunny summer richness and joy, and geniality, and freedom of the authentic gospel preached by him in the dawn of the era of grace. Some have not come to that happy place; many linger by the Dead Sea, and are disciples of John, to their great loss. For it is good to be with Jesus in Galilee. An evangelic faith, and still more, if possible, an evangelic temper, in sympathy with the Galilean proclamation, is a grand desideratum. It is what is needed to redeem the evangel from the suspicion of exhaustion or impotence, and to rescue the very term 'evangelic' from the reproach under which it lies, in the thoughts of many."

T. H. R.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.—No epistle in the New Testament is more striking than this. It is a book to be read as a whole from first chapter to last. In no other New Testament book is there so pure a diction. None other has a more elevated style, a loftier tone. It may perhaps be said that none is so varied in its contents, so picturesque, so absorbing in the progress of its thought.

It is not strange that Luther, and that others since his day have attributed it to Apollos, the eloquent Alexandrian, and we can easily see why it took such a hold on Dr. John Owen as to cause him to say in so extreme a fashion, "the world may as well want the sun as the church this epistle." It is written with a preacher's power. It is deeply spiritual. It is lofty, yet simple; ideal, yet practical. In no book is there a keener insight into character, a more natural and flowing and cumulative argument, a more skilful blending of stern rebuke and of urgent entreaty and encouragement.

The sweep of thought is wide. The epistle is full of striking passages. Where else do we find so great a number of varied, clean cut presentations? These are the most marked: the lofty presentation of Jesus as the Son of God; his brotherhood with man; the apostasy of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their failure to enter into the rest; the picture of Melchizedek, priest of God, "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life." Where else do we find passages with so grand and yet simple a movement as that one in which the heroes of faith and their achievements are presented, and that other in which the contrast is made between Mt. Sinai and Mt. Zion? The main central portion of the book, too, that in which is presented the better priesthood, the better covenant, and the better ministry of sacrifice, through which only is perfection, is rich and varied, and of great power and beauty.

But it is the purpose and spirit of the writer that makes the epistle the vital and intensely human book it is. It is this that binds all the parts together into one. It is this spirit and purpose that gives the book its peculiar fascination, that is the ground of its striking contrasts and wide range and sweep of thought, and is the secret of its deep spiritual power.

It is written to a body of Hebrew Christians. Their conception of Christ is not a high one. They are at a low ebb of faith and life. There is danger of an apostasy from the faith. The life of a church is at stake. The issue is a vital one. Warning and appeal run through the book. Sharp rebuke and solemn warning are mingled with urgent entreaty and generous encouragement. The writer has a buoyant faith that the church will be true to its allegiance. Hope, courage, faith, steadfastness,—these are the tone of the book. The appeal is based on the strong, forceful argument that Jesus is the Son of God, the High Priest, who has found eternal redemption, who is able to save to the uttermost. The epistle is buoyant, even triumphant in spirit, and it is this spirit that the writer will infuse into the church.

One of the passages of warning is treated very interestingly and forcefully

by Professor William Milligan, D.D., in the May and June numbers of the *Expositor*. We give below the passage with his interpretation.

Hebrews 6:4-6.—“*For as touching those who were once enlightened and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted the good Word of God and the powers of the age to come, and then fell away, it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.*”

This passage, Professor Milligan maintains, does not refer, as is ordinarily held, to a complete apostasy from the faith. He claims that the true interpretation gives a milder teaching, and writes: “Like the words of our Lord himself, when he says of the sin against the Holy Ghost, that it cannot be forgiven, either in this world or the world to come, the words of the epistle have struck terror into many a heart, and have led not a few followers of Christ into despair rather than into renewed or increased exertion in the Christian life.” The difficulty, however, with the interpretation suggested by Professor Milligan, is that it robs the passage of very much of its force, and seems merely to give a statement which in the nature of things is self-evident. Taken by itself in the ordinary sense, it is certainly a most solemn warning, and undoubtedly has had the effect mentioned. But it must be taken in its relation to the rest of the epistle with its prevailing tone of hope, courage, faith.

Professor Milligan's interpretation is, in brief, this: The passage describes a state into which the Hebrews had fallen. The word *παραπίπτειν*, expressed in the aorist participle denotes a definite act in past time, not a complete apostasy, but a falling away, having in it probably the element of wilful transgression, cf. Heb. 10:26. The participles translated, “Seeing they crucify,” and “put him to an open shame” are present, denoting continuous action. There is no falling away here spoken of such that it may not be repented of. Christ prayed for the forgiveness of those who crucified him. All things are possible with God. The evident meaning of the passage is, it is impossible to renew them to repentance, the while (as in the margin) they crucify, etc. They cannot be brought to repentance because they keep crucifying the Son of God. So long as they do this repentance is impossible.

The article by Professor Milligan is very interesting and forceful. He would apply the passage to those who stop in the first principles of the Christian life, having no adequate conception of the lofty character of Christ, and by their inconsistent living, unconsciously perhaps, though no less really, crucify the Son of God,—this Son of God, who is the life of God in the soul.

The objection to this interpretation is, that it would not effect the purpose that the writer has in mind. He wishes to remind them that there is such a thing as an apostasy with its terrible consequences. His warnings are few and short, but very sharp and effective. In 10:26, 27, he speaks of the “fearful expectation of judgment and a fierceness of fire” for those who sin

wilfully after having received the knowledge of the truth. In the third and fourth chapter he holds up before them as a warning the Israelites who failed to enter into the promised land through unbelief. "Let us therefore give diligence to enter into that rest, that no man fall after the same example of disobedience." (4:11.) And following this passage in question (6:4-6) he makes clear and vivid his meaning by the illustration of the land. "For the land which hath drunk the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whose sake it is also tilled, receiveth blessing from God; but if it beareth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned" (6:7, 8). Moreover, at the very beginning of his argument, after his lofty introduction of Jesus as the Son of God, he exclaims: "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" and following this passage of stern warning, which we are now considering, (6:4-8) he writes: "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak" (6:9). In 10:39, likewise, at the end of his argument and exhortation, before the long passage on the heroes of faith and the appeal based thereon, he concludes: "*But we are not of them that shrink back unto perdition, but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul.*"

Thus at the beginning and at the very end of his argument, and in both the long passages of exhortation, (5:11-6:12 and 10:19-39,) there come the words of warning with the very plain declaration of the terrible results of apostasy. Both of these long passages of personal exhortation are remarkable for their entreaty, their encouragement, the strong faith which the writer has in those to whom he writes, and his generous appreciation of their past love and good will and sufferings, as well as for the words of stern rebuke and solemn warning. His purpose is to quicken them; to arouse them to a sense of their danger, lest there shall be any among them who shall be in that state which he describes. And this is best done by the vivid presentation of a state of soul which is past salvation. Such a state he could hardly represent in other words than those he uses, a state in which wilfully and continuously the Son of God is crucified and is put to an open shame. Only rarely does he touch on this dark side, and then only briefly, with words of faith and encouragement immediately following, as here: "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation."

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

THE August issue of *Biblia* is especially interesting.

RABBI HENRY BERKOWITZ, of the Rodef Sholom Congregation in Philadelphia, is to read a paper at the parliament of religions on "The Voice of the Mother of Religions."

REV. DR. HERRICK JOHNSON in a conversation quoted in the *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* of July 29, states this interesting fact concerning theological institutions in Chicago. "There are seven theological seminaries in Chicago, more than in any other city in America, and Canon Farrar, when in Chicago, told me that he knew of no city in Europe that could approach it in this particular." There are nine Presbyterian seminaries in the country, said Dr. Johnson, not including two German, McCormick leads in point of numbers, having 213 students. Probably no theological school has graduated a larger class than that of McCormick this year, viz.: seventy-three students.

IT IS difficult to follow the work of the Palestine and the Egyptian Exploration Fund unless we have a clear idea of the work these Societies have done in the past and of the present purpose and plans and methods. In the August number we gave a valuable condensed statement of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund made by one of the officers of the Fund. We present below a corresponding statement of the work of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Both are found in *Biblia*.

The Egyptian Exploration Fund was founded in 1883, under the Presidency of the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, for the purpose of promoting historical investigation in Egypt by means of systematically conducted explorations; particular attention being given to sites which may be expected to throw light upon obscure questions of history and topography, such as those connected with the mysterious "Hyksos" period, the district of the Hebrew sojourn, the route of the exodus, and the early sources of Greek art. The work is conducted on the principle of careful examination of all details, and the preservation of objects discovered. These objects are of supreme value and interest, inasmuch as they illustrate the international influences of Egyptian, Greek, Assyrian, and Syrian styles; afford reliable data for the history of comparative art; reveal ancient technical processes; and yield invaluable examples of art in metal, stone and pottery. The metrological results are also of the highest importance, some thousands of the weights having already been found.

Since the establishment of the Fund in 1883, explorers have been sent out every season; two and sometimes three, conducting excavations in different parts of the Delta. Each year has been fruitful in discoveries. Much has been done towards the restoration of the ancient topography of Lower Egypt. The sites of famous cities have been identified; the biblical Pithom-Succoth, the city of Goshen, the Greek Naukratis, and Daphnae (identical with the biblical *Tahpanhes*), have been discovered; statues and inscriptions, papyri, and beautiful objects in bronze and other metals, as well as in porcelain and glass, have been found; new and unexpected light (not less momentous, or likely to produce less effect on contemporary criticism, than the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann in Greece and Asia) has been cast upon the ancient history of the Hebrews; the early stages of the route of the exodus have been defined, and its direction determined; three most important chapters in the history of Greek art and Greek epigraphy have been recovered from the ruins of Naukratis, Daphnae, and Bubastis; and, lastly, a series of archaeological surveys of the Delta have been made, most of the larger mounds having been measured and planned.

Excavations have been carried on principally at the following sites:

1883.—*Tel-el-Maskhutah*, in the Wady Tumilat, discovered to be Pithom-Succoth, one of the "store-cities" built by the forced labor of the Hebrew colonists in the time of the oppression. This discovery and its results are described by the explorer, Dr. Naville, in his Memoir entitled "The Store-City of Pithom," in which the route of the exodus is laid down.

1884.—*San* (the Tanis of the Septuagint and the Greek historians, the Zoan of the Bible). This excavation and its results are described by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, in the Memoir entitled "Tanis, Part I."

1885.—*Tell Nebireh*, in the Western Delta, discovered to be Naukratis. This excavation and its results are described by Mr. W. M. F. Petrie, in the Memoir entitled "Naukratis, Part I.," by Mr. Ernest A. Gardner, Director of the English School at Athens, in "Naukratis, Part II."

Also, *Saft-el-Henneh*, discovered to be the town of Goshen, capital of the ancient district of that name. This excavation and its results are described by Dr. Naville, in the Memoir entitled "Goshen, and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh."

1886.—*Tell Defenneh*, the biblical "Tahpanhes" and the "Daphnae" of the classical historians; also *Tell Nebesheh*, site of the ancient city of "Am," a dependency of Tanis. These excavations and their results are described by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, and his coadjutor, Mr. F. Llewellyn Griffith, in a Memoir entitled "Daphnae," included in "Tanis, Part II."

1887.—*Tell-el-Yahudiyyeh*, an ancient Jewish settlement, now shown to be the city of Onias described by Josephus. Memoir entitled "Onias," by Dr. Naville.

1889-90.—*Tell Basta*, the Pi-Beseth of the Bible and Bubastis of the Greeks. Dr. Naville located the precise site of this once magnificent red

granite temple, and disinterred its grand ruins, abounding in superb monolithic shafts, massive architraves, sculptured blocks, broken colossi, bas-relief groups, etc., inscribed with valuable hieroglyphic texts. The inscriptions touching the Pyramid era, Hyksos kings, and the warlike XVIIIth Dynasty (that of Thothmes) are of absorbing interest to the historian, while the inscriptions relating to the period of Joseph are of thrilling interest to every student of the Bible. "Bubastis, Part I," by Dr. Naville. "Part II," to appear in the spring of 1892.

1890-91.—*Ahnas-el-Medineh*, the Hanes of the Bible and Heracleopolis of the Greeks. Its mounds were excavated by Dr. Naville. Memoir to appear.

1891-3.—*Tell Mokdam* and *Deir el-Bahari* (Thebes). The latter is a most important place for explorative labors.

1890-3.—*The Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, for which a special fund is provided; under the charge of Messrs. Percy Newberry, Buchman, J. E. Newberry and Carter. This work is of incomparable importance in many ways, and, in view of the wholesale and irreparable destruction of sculptures by Arabs, tourists and dealers in "Antiques," needs to be pushed vigorously forward. The famous tombs of *Beni Hasan* were thoroughly explored in '90-'92, and in '92-'93 the historic antiquities from Beni Hasan southward will be surveyed, traced, photographed, copied, etc. The tombs at El Bersheh having been exhaustively surveyed, the survey officials proceeded to Tel el-Amarna, the scene of the discovery of the famous tablets. Dr. Winslow outlined the purpose of the survey in *Biblia* for November, 1890; and in January, 1892, he described some of the "results" at Beni Hasan. A "Special Extra Report," illustrated, edited by Miss Edwards, published in December, 1891, treated of the work there accomplished. The first memoir of the survey is a quarto with thirty-one beautiful plates and illustrations (four in colors), treating of the sculptures and pictures of Beni Hasan, in which the social and business life of men, 2500 B. C., is richly depicted, and the facial types afford an ethnographical study, very valuable and altogether unique. A volume on El Bersheh, or at least one on Tel el-Amarna will be published. Special circulars relating to the survey may be had from Dr. Winslow.

The foregoing outlines the most important labors of the Fund. An annual quarto volume, with elaborate illustrations and photographs, is published. All donors or subscribers of not less than \$5 receive this volume of the season and annual report; previous volumes are \$5 each. The Survey volume of the season is sent to all subscribers or donors of not less than \$5 to the Survey. Said Dr. W. Hayes Ward, editor, in *The Independent*, "The annual volumes published are abundant remuneration to the subscribers of five dollars." Three hundred men of the highest rank in education, theology, letters, business and public life—among them eighty-nine university or college presidents—have subscribed to the American branch of the Fund. For circulars and all information address the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, for the United States, Rev. W. C. Winslow, 525 Beacon Street, Boston.

ONE of the most prominent of the Scotch biblical and theological teachers is Professor Bruce of Glasgow. We give elsewhere (under Notes and Opinions) passages from a very interesting sketch of Dr. Bruce in the July *Thinker*. Dr. Bruce's most recent contribution is "Paul's Conception of Christianity," now appearing in the issues of the *Expositor*. These articles will be published in book form, thus increasing the already long list of works that he has written. His last published work, *Apologetics or Christianity Defensively Stated* (T. & T. Clark. Edinburgh, 1892), is divided into three parts. The first treats of the Christian facts, and Christian and other Theories of the Universe. The second is devoted to the Historical Preparation for Christianity, and embraces the questions connected with Hebrew History and Literature in their relation to Christ. The third deals with the Christian Origins, and covers the main controversies bearing on historical Christianity. A writer in the *Critical Review* for January reviewing the book, speaks of Dr. Bruce as follows: "Dr. Bruce is too well-known to our readers to need here and now any introduction. He has already attained distinction as a clear, fearless, and yet cautious thinker. His previously published books have done not a little in directing and giving tone to learned thought and inquiry on some of the most crucial and perplexing questions of our time. He has contributed his fair proportion of solid thinking towards that reconstruction of our theology for which, in its manifold departments, we are all striving and waiting." Concerning the book in question, he writes: "The present volume will well sustain the author's reputation. From beginning to end it bears on it the impress of a man who has a firm grip of the matter he handles; who clearly understands the positions he assails, and who, while considerate of the difficulties of faith, is strong in his adhesion to what evidently has passed through the testing processes of his own intellect and heart." "What the author seeks is a fair hearing for Christianity. On this account we must welcome the work of Dr. Bruce as one of the most valuable of our time. To all who thirst to know the best that can be said on matters vital to their own lives, this volume will prove exceedingly helpful. It is clear, robust, and vigorous in style; well arranged in chapters, with useful tables of contents, and index; and in the working out of the various lines of thought, pervaded by a strong common sense and large-hearted charity. Those who wish to pursue their studies more in detail on the various points of discussion, will find very serviceable to this end the references to the literature pertaining thereto placed at the head of each chapter."

Comparative-Religion Notes.

IN Professor Max Müller's fourth volume of Gifford Lectures just issued, entitled *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*, is a discussion of Zoroastrianism or the religion of ancient Persia. While adding nothing of importance to our knowledge of it, Professor Müller presents some views respecting the relation of Judaism to the Persian faith which are very striking and important. He holds that there are coincidences which are so close that the only explanation of them is borrowing. This borrowing has been on both sides. Zoroastrianism is distinguished from the closely related Hindu religious systems by its monotheism. This monotheistic bent so different from the "monotheism" of the Vedas, is due to the influence of the Israelites who had been deported to Media by the Assyrian kings and there came into contact with the adherents of Zoroastrianism. It was Israel that taught Persia the faith of the one God. On the other hand Judaism took from the Persian religion the beliefs in the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. They are not in the older portions of the Old Testament. They appeared among the Jews after the Jewish commonwealth had come under Persian domination. In the Persian religion they are a part of the earliest faith. Even the biblical "I am that I am" as a divine name is discovered by Professor Müller in the Avesta, and from critical grounds, he argues that here the Old Testament must have borrowed from Persia. These conclusions seem to be accepted on not altogether established grounds, and the student must suspend his judgment until further researches are made into the ancient Persian sacred literature, one of the most difficult of all the subjects with which students are grappling to-day. It is gratifying to know that such competent and brilliant scholars have given themselves to this field as Mills, Darmesteter, and Geldner; and not the least among them the American scholar, Jackson of Columbia College, New York.

IT is not to be wondered at that there have been many expressions of distrust and disfavor respecting the Parliament of Religions, to be held in connection with the Columbian Exposition. The wonder is, some may think, that it has been received with so much applause. Strict old-school theologians, timid religionists, and many orthodox partisans were bound to oppose it. Conscientious scruples against bringing the unique religion of Christ into friendly relations with the "false" religions have compelled the withdrawal of sympathy and assistance in some quarters. Even ridicule

and abuse have been poured upon the idea from some religious newspapers. Yet it has not lacked defenders, not a few of whom have come from the ranks of missionaries. The Rev. T. J. Scott of Calcutta, expresses himself vigorously on the subject after the following fashion: "Now all the ridicule that is heaped on this enterprise, seems to assume that there is nothing in the great ethnic religions, and that systems of religious thought that have held millions of the race from antiquity, are worthy only of a passing sneer. Think how comparatively small a part of the race during the ages have had the Bible. Think of the millions that have come and gone in the ancient historic nations, and in the nations that have come down to our time, as India, China, and Japan. The population that has had the Bible is but a drop in the ocean compared with these. Have these had but very small measure of God's grace and love while his wrath only has ever lowered over them, abandoned only to darkness and despair? Have they had no dispensation of mercy and hope? To claim this is what has provoked the statement that if such is the Bible and the God of the Bible, the less of them propagated abroad the better. As one puts it, 'Why try to prove the love of God to nations whom on your own showing, God has left from the creation until now in darkness.' Has God had no care over these nations? Has he never spoken to them? Is there a providence over all the world, and if so, is there nothing to learn from these nations? What of the Gentile saints mentioned in the Bible, as Melchizedek and Job, and Jethro, father-in-law to Moses, and Cornelius, and others not so mentioned? Too many religious teachers manifest a narrow and ungenerous spirit in this matter. I have not so learned Christ. God's attitude toward the Gentile nations will yet be interpreted in a better light. What may seem to the *Indian Witness* and to some correspondents prudence and wisdom, is hardly the spirit of Jesus, nor of Paul his great apostle to the Gentiles, nor will it be the spirit of the twentieth century. No one need be ashamed to meet the representatives of the ethnic faiths at Chicago, and seek 'to deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among the religious men of diverse faiths.' Nor will any one be "ashamed of the gospel of Christ."

FROM an address recently delivered by the United States ex-minister to Russia, Hon. Charles Emory Smith, on the Greek Church, the following passages give a clear idea of the usages and present status of that great branch of Christendom:

"The Greek Church is that part of the great Christian body which recognizes only the authority of the first seven Ecumenical Councils. Originally it was united with the Roman Church. Differences began to spring up as early as the fifth century, but the schism was not fully completed till the eleventh century. The Greek Church is practically a federation of churches without any center of authority. There is no Pope in the Greek Church, but there are Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, the chief

prelate being known as the Metropolitan. The Russian Greek Church embraces nearly seventy-five million adherents, more than the entire population of the United States. The Emperor of Russia is the head of the church, but he has no more to do with its doctrines than the King of Italy or the Emperor of Austria has with the doctrines of the Roman Church. The emperor is described as the defender of the faith. As far as the appointive power goes, he is the complete head of the hierarchy, and the Holy Synod is made up of his appointees. The Greek Church agrees with the Roman Church in various dogmas. They have the same veneration for the Virgin and mass. They recognize the sacraments and pay attention to fasting. But there are marked distinctions. The Greek Church denies the primacy and spiritual supremacy of the Popes. It recognizes no human infallibility except on the part of the Ecumenical Council. It maintains that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, not from the Son; rejects the doctrine of purgatory, though it recognizes the intercession of the saints. The church has what is termed a white clergy and a black clergy. The latter are monks. They are celibates. But the white clergy are required to marry. The white clergy preponderate. It is from the black clergy that the high prelates are chosen. The white clergy are not allowed to exercise any choice as to their wives. The selection is made by a bishop, who chooses the widow or daughter of another priest. All the priest's sons must become priests, and the only possible method of escape is by entering the army. The Greek Church does not have images, but rather representations of the Saviour, the Madonna, and the saints upon surfaces. These representations are called ikons, and those in the edifices are beautiful and very valuable, being studded often with precious stones. In every house and every shop is an ikon, and when one enters the door he must take off his hat in respect for the ikon. As to the character of the worship, one never hears a sermon. I never heard but one Russian hierarch deliver a discourse, and that was on an anniversary. The services consist of mass and music. Sometimes the music is very monotonous, but then it will become most entertaining and ravishing, the grandest melodies and the sweetest voices that I ever heard. Women do not take part. All the singing is by men and boys. The boys who have the sweetest voices are selected for the priesthood, and their voices are trained during their whole life. There is no instrumental music."

Book Reviews.

Kritisch-exegetische Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Von H. D. W.

MEYER: Das Johannes-Evangelium, 8te. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Prof. Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1892., pp. 3+635.

The third revision of Meyer's commentary on John by Dr. Bernhard Weiss, which has just been published, is the most valuable addition to the exegesis of the Fourth Gospel in recent years. As is usually the case in German commentaries of this class, the original author is in a large degree secondary to his editor. Meyer is constantly referred to as if he were an outside authority, and his views are often pronounced untenable. Two striking illustrations are furnished by the first few pages of the exposition. On the much-debated question of the origin of John's conception of the Logos the two expositors differ very widely. Meyer maintains that the evangelist was acquainted with, and in some measure influenced by, Alexandrine speculation. Dr. Weiss cannot find the faintest trace of such influence. The diffusion of Alexandrine speculation in Asia Minor, he thinks, cannot be historically proved, and the evangelist's use of the word in his Prologue can be satisfactorily explained from his recollections of the teaching of Jesus and from the Old Testament. In v. 18 of the same chapter Dr. Weiss still adheres to the reading "only begotten God," which Meyer rejected as a dogmatic gloss appended in imitation of the first words of the Prologue. A conspicuous, and, on the whole, advantageous deviation from Meyer's method is the insertion of the textual criticism in the body of the exposition, or in foot-notes, instead of at the beginning of each chapter. There has also been considerable condensation of the matter in many places, to the reader's relief. It goes without saying, that the exegesis is invariably characterized by fine scholarship, and often by rare exegetical insight. We miss, indeed, the indefinable delicacy of spiritual intuition so often exhibited by Meyer, as we are occasionally reminded by quotations, but the editor gives so much valuable matter of his own that the loss is nearly if not quite compensated by the gain. One great question, however—the miracles of the Fourth Gospel—is treated in a very disappointing way. The reader finds it almost impossible to discover the commentator's real opinion. The cautiously-expressed suggestion that the feeding of the multitude may have been effected by the power of Jesus over the minds of those around him which induced them to give up whatever stores of food they possessed, is almost as improbable as the strange expedients to which the early rationalists

used to resort in their efforts to eliminate the miraculous from the life of Christ. The resurrection of Lazarus seems to be admitted, but the admission is coupled with the curious notion that Lazarus (as well as those whose restoration to life is recorded in the synoptic gospels) was preserved from conscious entrance into that state of being into which the human spirit usually passes when separated from the body. On the other hand, it is satisfactory to note the peremptory rejection of the theories propounded by Paulus, Strauss, and Renan respectively. Even more interesting than the exposition is the introduction, which treats of the authorship, date, purpose and nature of the Fourth Gospel. Those who are already familiar with the works of Dr. Weiss will eagerly turn to this part of the volume to ascertain the present attitude of one of the ripest living scholars to "the Johannine Question." A summary of the whole argument would occupy too much space, so that a few selected points must suffice. Speaking generally, Dr. Weiss stands where he did. Both the external evidence, which is marshalled with wonderful skill and force, and the internal evidence, endorse, to his mature judgment, the testimony of tradition that the apostle John wrote this gospel in Asia in the last quarter of the first century. The kernel of the gospel, he still believes, consists of true history and faithfully reported teaching; but the form has been in a considerable degree colored and moulded by the writer's strong individuality. No direct purpose is admitted except that plainly indicated in the gospel itself. The view which has found so much favor with modern critics, that the gospel cannot have been written by the writer of the Apocalypse, is discredited by Dr. Weiss. The fundamental difference between the two writings, he argues, renders close comparison inappropriate: they were separated by an interval of twenty years, during which Jerusalem was destroyed and the apostle John removed from Palestine to Asia, and, notwithstanding their radical dissimilarity, they exhibit many correspondences of thought, imagery, and expression. All this is not sufficient to prove identity of authorship, but it ought to prevent the assumption that this identity is impossible. As the work seems to have almost passed through the press at Christmas, Dr. Weiss was unable to use the newly discovered Gospel of Peter, so that we are left in ignorance of the accomplished exegete's estimate of the bearing of the document on the controversy. He claims to have consulted recent authorities as far as possible, but there is a regrettable paucity of references to works written in English; and it is rather surprising that even the famous article of Dr. Schürer seems to be ignored.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Expositor's Bible: The First Book of Kings. By the Ven. Archdeacon F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893. Pages xii. and 503. Price \$1.50.

The biblical and Christian world owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Farrar for his many valuable contributions to the better understanding of sacred literature. His mastery of the English tongue in its most fascinating forms, his prodigious

learning in many fields, and his firm grasp of the truth of whatever he handles give great popularity to every product of his restless pen. In the book here noticed he applies his methods and skill to an historical book of the Old Testament. It gives a great field for the play of a keen imagination, as well as for prudence in picking out the chief lessons to be impressed upon the reader. The author puts the whole narrative through his loom, weaves together into exquisite patterns the warp and woof at his disposal. Striking expressions, telling hits, illustrations from all history, bits of pat poetry, and an elegant rhetorical finish fill the book with genuine interest.

The work is divided into four books, (I) Introduction, (II) David and Solomon, (III) the Divided Kingdom, (IV) Ahab and Elijah. The introduction discusses (1) the higher criticism, (2) the Book of Kings, (3) the historian of Kings, (4) God in history, (5) history with a purpose, (6) lessons of the history. The body of the Book of I. Kings is treated in forty-one chapters, and the whole is concluded with an appendix on chronology, in which the last and best system (division of kingdom, 937 B. C.) is adopted.

In the introduction the writer defines, though not always clearly, his position on critical questions. The discussion shows that he follows, though cautiously, such authorities as Robertson Smith, Stade and Kittel. He is quite ready to speak of "historic tradition" (p. 302), "details added later" (p. 297); and sometimes to question the historical verity of the narrative. He, of course, is not an independent investigator on these lines, and, as we should expect, must, in large part, popularize positions already taken by recognized leaders. While carefully following the latest works in these studies, he has not neglected to add an abundance of useful and striking examples out of his fund of knowledge of ancient and modern history. His method of pursuing the subject by topics rather than by texts furnishes ample play for adding to this rich source of teaching and truth. The abundance of footnotes tells of the wide preparation of the author, and are also an extremely valuable apparatus for the real student. The book has no index—a blemish, indeed, on an otherwise praiseworthy and helpful work.

PRICE.

Wit and Humor of the Bible: A Literary Study. By MARION D. SHUTTER, D.D. Boston: The Arena Publishing Co. 1893. Pages 219. Price \$1.50.

"What a title!" Why not? The Bible represents the whole circle of human nature. Its serene and solemn, gay and joyous moods are pictured. It would be passing strange if the Bible contained no traces of genuine wit. This is a bright book. It brings out numerous cases of biting repartee, sarcastic retort, and caustic irony. In some cases the humor is apparent only in the curt, epigrammatic expression. In others there are real startling flashes of wit. This is a new and legitimate side to the human nature of the Bible, and Mr. Shutter has brought it out with good effect.

PRICE.

The Expositor's Bible. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Chicago: A. C. McClurg. 1893. Pages viii and 404. Price, \$1.50.

A breezy book stirs up the mind and is as interesting and fascinating as cycling. But commentaries rarely start the enthusiasm of the truth-seeker. Occasionally, however, one is found which contains a veritable storage battery, charging and driving ahead with alarming momentum every mind which touches it. Such works are almost diamond-rare in this series. The expositorial style is not the most compact for chained argument. It breaks connection too often to draw a heavy load. Professor Adeney's volume has some excellent features. With forcible, plain, straightforward, and sometimes eloquent thought and language, he carries along his reader. No one is in doubt about his position. Fully abreast of the best information, he is fresh and helpful. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are genuinely historical, though put together some time after the events therein recorded. Esther is probably a product of some Jewish writer in the Persian Empire, built upon some slight foundation in fact. The character sketches are well made and add materially to the worth of the book. No notice, however, is amplified regarding the recent finds at Susa by the French Dieulafoy. This is too important a fact to be overlooked. This volume is quite above the average in the series.

PRICE.

The Expositor's Bible. The Book of Joshua. By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1893. Pages viii and 416. Price, \$1.50.

This series of sermonic or expositional commentaries has already grown to thirty-six volumes, evenly divided between the Old and New Testaments. Of the eighteen on the Old, Dr. Blaikie has already contributed to the first six-volume set two books on Samuel. As a biblical scholar his position is well understood, contrasting strikingly with the views of several other contributors to these Old Testament volumes. In the introduction to his exposition proper, he lays before the reader his reasons for finding a supernatural cause behind the remarkable events in the lives of individuals and of Israel in their early history. The higher critics come in for their share of notice, and are practically forced to retire. Modern criticism has little influence in the treatment of the Book of Joshua. He hews to the old lines. The miraculous is as abundant as ever. But there is a charm in the spirit of the writer. The moral and spiritual is made to glisten on almost every page. A gem of a sermon is each section, and a lesson of interest to the popular reader. It would be ungracious to mention minor faults in this short notice; but one thing should be said, the author sometimes wearies his reader by a disproportionate expansion of some choice thought. The uniform type and binding of the series pleases the book-lover.

PRICE.

Manual of the Science of Religion. By P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE.

Translated from the German by BEATRICE S. COLYER-FERGUSSON. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. Pp. 672. Price, \$3.00.

The "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte" of de la Saussaye, is the latest and best of the books which aim to give a compendious survey of the field of the world's religions. Its range of reading is very wide, its facts carefully selected and verified, its temper charitable, and its attitude broad-minded and sympathetic. Perhaps the most commendable feature of the book is its objective character. The writer presents both sides of any controverted question with the arguments for each, and rarely reveals his own position. While this characteristic deprives the book of an original and independent value, its usefulness as a hand-book for reference is thereby immensely increased. With the purpose he has in view, the writer has done wisely to efface his own individuality, and thus to present as in a mirror the present condition of discussion and investigation in this new and ambitious science.

To possess this work in an English translation was most desirable, though there are certain defects about this particular translation which detract from its value. Why should a new and misleading name have been given to it? "Manual of the *Science of Religion*" it is not, but "Manual of the *History of Religion*." Why should this volume bear a title leading one to regard it as a translation of the completed work of Saussaye? The preface alone informs us that it contains the first of the two volumes of the German original, and the publication of the other volume will depend on the reception of this one by English readers. One who buys this volume finds the information as to the world's religions confined to general discussions on the philosophy and phenomenology of religions and to chapters on the Chinese, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian, and the Indian religions. The second volume of the German contains the studies on the Religions of Persia, Greece, Rome, the Teutons and Islam. The hope will be cherished by all who know the German original that the second volume will soon be translated, and the book not be compelled to sail under false colors as a complete work when it is only partial.

The preface claims that the translation has been revised by Professor de la Saussaye, and the notes and corrections of the author have been incorporated into it. The translator, a daughter of Professor Max Müller, has also had the help of her distinguished father in her task. These facts lead one to expect unusual exactness in the translation and an added value over the original. The former expectation cannot be said to be realized. While the general sense of the original has usually been caught, the details of translation are curiously inaccurate. The same word is given different meanings on the same page. Carelessness and haste are often too apparent. Sometimes the author's meaning is entirely missed. It is almost incredible how so much poor work could have escaped the competent inspection—if thorough—of the two revisers of the translation. It will not be safe for any student to use the

English translation as authority in details without first referring to the original for verification. It is to be hoped that when a second edition is called for, a careful and thorough revision will be made. Apart from its inaccuracy the translation is smooth, reads easily, and makes the book as attractive as any handbook can be expected to be. The English reader will be surprised to find how much progress has been made in formulating the principles and working out the details of the Science of Religion, while the large amount of work which is being done in the collection of religious facts and the organization of them will be more than surprising. The typography is excellent. The usual absence of an index, common to most English books,—the absence, we mean, not the index,—is, as usual, deplorable.

G. S. G.

The World of the Unseen. By ARTHUR WILLINK. New York: Macmillan & Co.

This book is a curiosity in literature. It is a product of that venturesome disposition of man which prompts him to seek a solution for every mystery. The author's avowed object is to show "that it is in higher space that we look for the understanding of the unseen." Our common habit of representing the future state of men as spiritual, and of assuming that spirit is of necessity invisible, seems quite unsatisfactory to him. He thinks that John's vision of the redeemed in the spiritual world was a vision of beings like unto ourselves. We do not see our departed friends because they dwell in "the higher space," not because they have become essentially unlike us. The difference is in the space. That in which they dwell is different in its conditions from ours. John was "in the spirit" when he had this vision.

An illustration of what this higher space may be is wrought out with much care, and with some ingenuity. Lower space is divided up as to dimensions, or, as our author prefers to say, directions. Each of these is in close connection with the others, but the conditions of each are different from those of the rest. The first is enclosed in a tube of infinite length, and although of no appreciable width, yet wide enough for an atom to be held in it. This is space in one direction. This tube moved laterally would describe superficial space of two directions. Adding now thickness we have space of three directions. These all lie together, and are parts of each other. But a being dwelling in space of only one direction could not see beings in superficial space, and those dwelling in superficial space could not see any being outside of their special relations. There may be points of contact, however, where these different kinds of space intersect each other, and he who stands at that point of contact may see, in higher spaces than his own, beings invisible to his fellows in the lower space. John, "in the spirit," stood at such a point of contact. Space of the "fourth direction" was open to his view. From that space came all spiritual beings, such as angels, who have shown themselves to men in this world, and back into that space they go. It was in the same way that the Master, after his resurrection, so mysteriously appeared and dis-

appeared in the presence of his disciples. He did not change his form as he went and came. He only changed his space relations.

What this fourth direction is Mr. Willink does not attempt to explain. He says that only a few favored souls can even picture it to their mind, and he is not one of *them*. It would seem as though one of these favored ones should have written the book. As it is, the work is of a very doubtful value. It is simply an attempt to explain a mystery by a mystery, and to common minds the mystery which is to explain will seem greater than the one to be explained.

B. F. S.

Guide to the Knowledge of God. By A. GRATRY, Professor of Theology at the Sorbonne. Translated by ABBY L. ALGER. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

This work in its original form has passed through many editions. The author starts out with a saying of Bossuet, which he quotes with approval, that "wisdom consists in knowing God and knowing one's self." He declines to regard the knowledge of God's existence as a first truth because man can disbelieve in God, and there are honest atheists. But he affirms that this knowledge "can be strictly proved, and that no geometrical theorem is more certain." Such knowledge is the "beginning and end of reason," and the basis of all philosophy.

An outline statement of the inductive and deductive methods of research is given with high commendation of induction. These methods find fuller illustration in the examination of the theodicy of Plato, and that of Aristotle,—two conspicuous examples of these two methods. The method of Plato, and the results obtained thereby receive the highest praise. The true idea of God as the good, and the true moral philosophy are traced back to the Socratic school. Goodness and the divine knowledge are ever inseparable, and in this the school of Socrates excelled. Aristotle, twenty years a pupil of Plato, accepted the results which he attained but sought to prove them by a process the opposite to that of his master. Aristotle is the father of deduction. He is substantially agreed with Plato, but his philosophy has not the directness nor simplicity of the Platonic system. Cicero said that the philosophy of the Academy and that of the Portico differed only in words. So says Mr. Gratry.

The author at least shows a very intimate acquaintance with these hoary philosophers. But in his enthusiasm he certainly interprets into their writings philosophic and theistic conceptions which are familiar enough today but were quite unfamiliar in the age of Plato. It is true that they sometimes use the word *Theos* to designate the Supreme Being. But did *Theos* mean to them just what it does to us? Did they ever think of a deity as personal in our sense of that word, and as separate from the universe? It seems very doubtful if they did. Our author is, moreover, a little inconsistent when he accepts Aristotle's definition of God as "pure act," and then refuses to accept Aristotle's theory of an eternal creation, which seems to be a logical sequence of

the definition. Evidently the modern interpreter of these wise men has been too strongly influenced by what he wanted to prove by them, and has resorted to exegesis for too much.

The remainder of part first is given to expositions of the theodicy of Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, Descartes, Pascal, Malebranche, Fénelon, Thomassin, Bossuet, and Leibnitz. Again one cannot help noticing what must be called prejudice in the selection of the authors given. But a French Roman Catholic could hardly be expected to do better than ignore all Protestant scholarship, and to despise all German philosophy and philosophers. This latter thing he does by occasional allusions to the German sophists in a way that is not a little amusing. The blemish of the book is the view it gives of the prejudices of the author's mind. But even philosophers have their prejudices, and sectarians, both Catholic and Protestant, in matters of controversy, are very much alike after all.

Part second begins with a statement of the author's aim in producing the work, which we may accept in good faith. He says that aim was to "arouse in select souls the taste for wisdom, the passion for truth, and effort for morality." A commendable aim. The discussion which follows treats of degrees of divine knowledge, and of reason and faith. It is a discussion of great value. But there is no room here to follow it out. The book will be very useful to any student of the history of theistic belief or of theology in general. I have made no effort to ascertain the correctness of the translation before me, but it is good, readable English. The introduction, by W. R. Alger, is written in a sympathetic and highly appreciative way, and the work as far as scholarship and clearness of argument go, is worthy of appreciation.

B. F. S.

Current Literature.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Books and Pamphlets.

The Teacher's Catechising Bible: The Book of Genesis. By C. Neil. London: Nisbet, 1893. 2s.

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Is it not a significant fact that the Parliament of Religions which has been holding its sessions during the past month was gathered in a Christian land and under Christian auspices? Was it merely a concatenation of chance circumstances that brought the Parliament to this country? We had a great Exposition; everything under heaven was collected here; congresses on every conceivable topic of human knowledge and activity were assembled; why not an aggregation of religions and a comparison of religious faiths?—hence the Parliament! That may account for the suggestion. It does not explain the turning of the thought into act and achievement. The Parliament is the thing to be accounted for, not the dream, the suggestion, the unrealized ideal which lay behind it. And therefore the question persists, Is there any significance in the consummation of this Parliament in a Christian land and under Christian leadership? The problem is really worth considering. We put it in its extreme form in the following proposition: It is demonstrably certain that Christianity, and Christianity alone, could originate and carry through to a successful issue such a wonderful enterprise as the harmonious conference of the world's religions.

FIRST, Christianity alone has the interest in such a conference sufficient to ensure its success. To Jesus Christ every thought of every man about God and every endeavor of every man to serve God were supremely interesting. His followers cannot

but catch something of his spirit. The comparative study of religion is a science born in Christian lands and indebted for a large part of its facts to the work of missionaries who studied the religions which they sought to supplant. It is often the case that the toleration which is the boast of some non-christian religions is the toleration of indifference and selfishness. Christianity may have been often intolerant, but her intolerance has had at its root the profoundest concern for man as a religious being. That spirit, when sweetened and broadened, works out into the intelligent and sympathetic consideration for the religious beliefs of man. The question of the Christian missionary, "Must I not carry my knowledge of God's saving love to other men?" involves the counter question, "What do they already know about it?" And by the fundamental principles of the Gospel all Christians are missionaries, and hence in the Christian world at large has arisen this interest in other religions which has been one element in the realization of this Parliament in a Christian country.

SECOND, the essential unity of Christianity has been a factor in making the Parliament a reality. Talk as you will about a divided Christendom, it cannot be denied that there is among Christian sects and parties and churches a basis of living union such as no other religion at present possesses. In the person of Jesus Christ, in the faith and love of Jesus Christ, all Christendom is one, and a like centre cannot be found in any other of the world's religions. Hence when the heart of Christendom makes itself felt, one impulse is received—we act as one. Such a unity made it possible to hope to realize this Parliament; it gave a platform high enough from which to call the world together and broad enough to gather them all and have room enough to move about without crush and crowd. What other religion of the world to-day can speak so unitedly with voice and act? Not India, with her thousand sects and want of a central thought and life. Not Islam, whose parties are as wide apart as the poles, and who have only a dead Mohammed to hold them together. Not any of them all, but Christianity with the living Christ.

THIRD, Christianity alone could face the consequences which such a Parliament brings in its train. Carelessness about results of comparison with other religions is somehow characteristic of the faith of the Gospel. This carelessness may be audacious and unjustifiable; may be attended with temporary injury to believers. But it is the carelessness of unconscious superiority, of unbounded resources, of undaunted belief in the possession of the future. Other faiths may be able to stand comparison as well as Christianity. To that we do not refer now. Christianity may have no good grounds for inviting other faiths to measure themselves against her, but she has proved in this Parliament that she is perfectly ready to invite comparison. An interesting instance in illustration of the point is this. In the provisional program of the Parliament one of the subjects suggested for presentation was "The defects of each religious system represented, to be stated in each case by an adherent of that faith." In the actual sessions that topic was not brought forward. And yet in the case of our own religion criticism was heard not only from ourselves but from the representatives of other religions. Hardly a word was uttered by Christians against any defect in non-Christian faiths and nothing of the sort by their adherents. This fact so significant can only mean that it is Christianity alone which is ready to stand criticism, invites judgment, throws herself open in a free, bold way, heedless of consequences, to the most searching demands of the human spirit. Such a faith alone could call other religions to conference and council with prospect of a successful assembling of the representative religions of the world. One cannot help seeing that this Parliament was in one sense the test, the trial, of Christianity itself, and nothing could be more evident than that Christianity welcomed that test.

WHAT may be regarded as some of the most essential benefits of the Parliament? Opinions on this point naturally are widely different. That gathering is as yet too near us for adequate estimate of the results. Yet a few things are clear respecting it. Light has been thrown upon the other religions, and a fairer judgment of them made possible. Their spokesmen could

not give us much satisfactory scientific historical information concerning their own faiths. The Hindu, for example, does not know how to use the scientific method, or, if he does, cannot apply it thoroughly. European scholars are better authorities on the Vedas than the Indian pundits. But one important lesson these men could teach by their words and actions—by their conceptions of religion and their evidences of religious life. These were sufficient proof that God was working in them; that they were not left to themselves; that their religions were not “false” in contradistinction to the one “true” gospel. These men may have been imperfect, they were not “abandoned.” The religious system that can produce and sustain them must, in important elements, be from God.

Another important fact brought out was the connection between educational and benevolent enterprises on the one hand, and religious systems on the other. India declared that its people longed for education and besought American Christianity to send teachers rather than missionaries, ignorant, apparently, of the fact that in India itself Christianity, missionary Christianity, and education go hand in hand. India asked for bread for its starving millions in preference to religious teaching, of which it claimed to have enough, ignorant that the Christian missions in India have been the centres of philanthropy, and that the missionary has been the chief dispenser of bread for the body as well as the preacher of truth for the soul. However Christianity was recognized, even in that veiled criticism, as the religion which alone possessed a monopoly, not, indeed, of noble thought about education and humanitarianism, but of organized effort and permanent achievement in these lines.

Another step was taken in the direction of the ultimate religion. In the presence of truth plainly attested in so many systems of religion as were represented in the Parliament, the old idea of conquest, of struggle for victory, vanished. Truth has no business fighting itself. The problem of ultimateness must henceforth be solved in terms of growth. The issue is not between truth and a lie, but resolves itself into a matter of incorporation, assimilation, fulfilment. The Saviour's words receive

from this point of view a larger meaning. "I came not to destroy but to fulfil." Christianity is seen to antagonize other faiths only as a larger and deeper truth can be said to antagonize a lesser one. The ultimate religion, from the platform of the Parliament of Religions, is seen to be that one which has the greatest capacity of growth manward and Godward. It need not be said that the Christ of Christianity is not only the centre but the boundless circumference of religion. For man ultimateness must be in a living person. In this sense not Christianity but Christ is the ultimate religion. Such was the deepest voice of this Parliament.

THE position of the Bible in the Parliament was suggestive. The Bible is not religion or God. It is the helper toward God, the interpreter and handmaid of religion. They utterly misconceive its purpose and misplace it who would exalt it into any higher position. In the presence of the fact of religion which filled the horizon of the Parliament the Bible took its rightful place. It was not recognized as "the religion of Protestants"—to use the words of the motto of a century or so ago. The old method of bolstering up the argument by biblical proof-texts was seldom resorted to. This seeing of religious truths and phenomena in their natural and right relations was one of the greatest achievements of the Parliament, and in no other respect was this rectiscopic energy more active than in defining the position and use of the Scriptures. The Bible is studied, not because it is an object of worship, but because it reveals God, the true and only object of worship. It is revered, not because it is perfect, but because it opens the mind and heart to the vision and realization of a perfected humanity in Jesus Christ. It is to be obeyed, not because it is outward categorical religion, but because it discloses to the candid soul the religion which dwells unconsciously in every man, and because it exhibits the law of the King, the word of the Father, according to which religion is to blossom into the complete life.

In this light the Bible received high honor in the Parliament. Its words were daily on the lips of the speakers representing all

religions. It was recognized as the highest achievement in the literature of the religious consciousness, the finest expression of the religious sense, the most stimulating power in the attainment of religious life. The Bible as well as Christianity is careless of the consequences of comparison with other sacred books. Its excellence does not depend on its lofty sentiments, so that, should these be paralleled in other sacred literatures, as they are, its supremacy is threatened. The historic revelation of God among men in the Bible is that which sets this book apart. Its historical element contains its own justification. Thus while Christianity is greater than the Bible, as religion is greater than Christianity, the Bible is still normal and determining as is no other sacred book in the religious experience of the race. There is truth in those books; in this Book is the Truth revealed. In those books there is strengthening for life; in this Book is the Life of the world. Because Christ is supreme, the Bible, which records his service and his sacrifice, will be supreme among the religious literatures of mankind.

THUS the influence of the Parliament is in the line of enlightening, broadening and rectifying the religious mind of Christianity. The temporary results may be, and doubtless will be, in some directions, weakening and destructive. Those who, on the one hand, have bound up religion with their own conceptions of revelation and the Bible are inclined to believe that the Parliament contributed to laxness and looseness. They may only harden themselves, settle themselves more solidly into their prejudices. On the other hand, those whose boast is that they think freely, which means usually to think foolishly and superficially, will find large incentive in the truly liberalizing spirit of the Parliament to strip off the few remnants left of reasonable and sober judgment. But for the rest, for the mass of sober minded, candid, aspiring and devout Christians the ultimate result of the Parliament will be a blessing in stimulating missionary activity, in clarifying and sweetening the mind, in enlarging the sympathy, in exalting and glorifying the Christ, the light and Saviour of the world.

A STUDY OF THE FORM AND CONTENTS OF THE SONG OF SONGS.

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Most writers on the Song discover in it not only an elaborate plot, but a complicated dramatic structure, and it is customary to divide the poem into as many as five distinct acts. Aside from the simple naïve character of the book itself, this seems a theory unwarranted by what we know of the literary art of Israel and other nations of antiquity. It must be remembered that the date of this book is somewhere in the tenth or eleventh centuries B. C., and that the Greek drama did not attain its full development until six centuries later (*circ. 480 B. C.*) We do not find in Old Testament literature any strong action and reaction of characters. There is much, it is true, that is exceedingly dramatic in the history, the prophets and the poetry of the Bible, but the balancing of one character against another, and the elaboration of situations as such, is almost altogether wanting.

The human soul is the stage upon which emotions play, and it is to a large degree by the unveiling of the heart itself that we get what is called the dramatic element of Scripture. The book of Esther in some respects comes nearer the requirements of the drama than any other portion of the Old Testament; its transitions are startling and full of surprises, and the denouement is tragic and powerful. Yet we are justified in regarding it merely as a piece of vivid historical writing, for which the actual events supplied all the dramatic material needed.

Isaiah's description of the descent of the king of Babylon into Sheol (Isa. 14) and Ezekiel's picture of the slain multitudes of Pharaoh, Elam, Meshech and Edom (Ezek. 32: 17 ff.) are vivid portrayals, dramatic even in their vividness, but after all they

are pictures, tremendous pieces of word-painting, and they would find their places in an epic of Hades rather than in a drama. The Book of Job is often considered a drama, but if it is, the action is almost entirely in Job's own soul. The friends add to his perplexities, but they do not aid in his final victory; they drop out of sight altogether at the end, and it is Job and Jehovah who are left standing alone. Job towers above all his Comforters, and they are seen to be hardly more than the personifications of effete or perverted ideas of Divine justice and government.

Can we now apply the same course of reasoning to the book before us? In the first place, it must be admitted that there are certain well-defined dramatic features and a dramatic setting, then, Solomon and the Shulamite stand out very clearly as the protagonists, and again, a chorus, consisting of the daughters of Jerusalem, is an integral part of the poem. Yet it is quite obvious that it is the Shulamite around whom everything revolves. Her sentiments, her longings, her doubts and her triumph form the central theme of the whole book. There is really very little that can be called dialogue, for the speakers express their thoughts without much effort, seemingly, to impress one another with their force. The passages in which Solomon addresses the Shulamite as "my friend" are studied and rhetorical, and more like declamations than appeals to one whom he seeks to win. The Shulamite hardly ever seems to reply to him directly; almost all her utterances, until the last chapter, are more in the nature of soliloquies or reveries than of conversations. They are rather the expressions of one whose soul is troubled and struggling, and whose gaze is turned inward than of one who is responding to fervid appeals or even seeking to parry too fulsome compliments. Observe that in chapters 3 and 5 the action is carried on in the visions of the night, the beloved is sought each time not in waking reality, but in dreams. Notice also that in chapter 2:8 we have undoubtedly a reminiscence of a past event, and the conversation, charming and natural as it is, is unquestionably a memory over which the Shulamite muses to herself. In chap. 6:10 the description seems to relate to the first discovery of the

Shulamite by Solomon and his court,—another reminiscence, of which, however, more will be said later.

If these observations be correct, the Shepherd Lover, whom so many regard as a third and leading character and the rival of Solomon, is a shadow projected upon the canvas before which the other characters move, rather than an actual, present entity. He is, however, none the less real in his influence, for he is the cause of the whole action on the Shulamite's part. But a drama in which one of the most important actors is made to play his part in dream or revery alone, differs very widely from the drama as ordinarily understood; it stamps the book at once with a strongly subjective character. As a study in literary history it would, however, be an exceedingly interesting question to determine whether this subjective element developed the necessity for the chorus as we see it in the Greek drama.

Let us now consider the contents of the book somewhat in detail.

Chaps. I:2—2:7 seem to be a scene laid either in the palace at Jerusalem, or as some think in the tents of the king, who is making a royal progress through Northern Palestine. This latter supposition I do not, however, regard as likely, for the vision in chapter 3 is colored by the new sights and experiences of the city.

In the opening verses the daughters of Jerusalem are heard singing a choral passage in praise of Solomon. There are indications that the song was partly by a chorus and partly by individual singers. It is possible that the Shulamite herself utters the words, "The king brought me into his apartments." Although the passage in parts undoubtedly refers to the king, it certainly seems as if other parts were addressed to the Shulamite, particularly the last words of verse 4: "We will exult and rejoice in thee, we will make mention of thy love more than wine, rightly do they love thee." The pointing of the suffixes is against this, and perhaps it should not be pressed. The Shulamite responds in words which are half deprecating and half a soliloquy, "I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem." And almost immediately the king enters, and addresses her in courtly phrases, likening her to a steed in Pharaoh's

chariots. The Shulamite does not reply directly; she speaks of her Beloved in the third person. Solomon addresses her again, "Behold, thou art fair, my friend; behold, thou art fair, thine eyes are doves." The Shulamite in verses 16, 17, and again in 2:3-6 appears to reply directly to the king's words and almost to reciprocate his advances as she does nowhere else. May we not suppose that, surrounded as she is by all the glory and magnificence of the court, she falters for the moment? Her personal vanity is appealed to, and though she deprecates Solomon's praise by saying that she is not one of the exotics of the court, but simply a rose of Sharon, a lily of the valley, when he responds by declaring that she is incomparably above her surroundings, past and present,—"As a lily among thorns, so is my friend among the daughters,"—she seems to accept the preëminence accorded her; yet she says, "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons; in his shadow I took delight; I sat down and his fruit was pleasant to my taste" (2:3), and thus claims for the one whom she continually speaks of in the third person as "My Beloved" a like preëminence, as though arguing his case in the presence of the shadow of a doubt as to whether he stood so high after all as she had always fondly pictured him. But when without an apparent change of subject she exclaims, 'He has brought me into the house of wine, and his banner over me is love,' (2:4) she can hardly refer to any one else than the king, the two rivals are contrasted for the instant and weighed the one over against the other. In the next sentence the subject is changed again, "Stay *ye* me with raisins, comfort *ye* me with apples, for I am sick of love" (2:5). The daughters of Jerusalem are appealed to here, and as a continuation of the appeal, though not to them, I take the verb of the next verse to be in the passive, "Let his left hand be under my head" (2:6). The temptation has been strong, and the inexperienced maiden has perhaps been shaken by it, for she has been plied with the subtle flattery that she is superior to her environment. Yet, in the midst of it all, she cries out with the strongest negative that a Hebrew could use, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and by

the hinds of the fields, that ye stir not up nor awaken love until it please" (2:7). Literally, "If ye stir up love," with the suppressed conclusion, "may God do so to you and more also," and she thus seems to recognize in the daughters of Jerusalem one of the most potent instruments of her trial.

In chap. 2:8 the atmosphere of the whole scene suddenly changes; the Shulamite hears the voice of her Beloved, she sees him looking in at the windows, glancing through the lattice. Yet all this is but a subjective appearance; she has not left the royal apartments; she is still in the court, though she is probably alone; but her thoughts at once revert to other times and other themes. Just as in the first chapter everything seemed to breathe the highly perfumed air of an oriental court, so here we smell all the odors of the springtime and hear the songs of countless birds. But we do not have two speakers as before. The Shulamite, in her reverie, pictures before her mind the form of her beloved and recalls his words; she repeats them over to herself and then breaks out into a little snatch of song, just as she had often done in the vineyards,—"Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vineyards, for our vineyards are in blossom" (2:15). Then she pledges herself anew to her beloved and prays him to hasten over the mountains of separation. From this waking vision we pass naturally to a vision of the night, in which the Shulamite seeks her Beloved through the streets of the strange city, which must have impressed itself strongly upon her imagination with its new and unaccustomed sights. When she has once found him whom her soul loved, she steps, by a touch of the truest art, from the city streets directly into her mother's house in the far north, she wakes in the strength of the vision to adjure the daughters of Jerusalem anew not to attempt to coerce a love which must be spontaneous, and with this closes what I consider the first act. The daughters of Jerusalem have been the most prominent figures; by their praise of the king and the supreme excellence of his love, they have sought to show the Shulamite the greatness of her privilege in being brought to court, while Solomon himself has sought to move her by telling her how far superior she is to anyone around her. But to all

this she opposes the simple fact that she is her Beloved's, and that her affection can only be given spontaneously.

With chap. 3 : 6 begins a new section, "Who is this that cometh up out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke," and we have a brilliant piece of word-painting; the royal retinue is seen approaching Jerusalem, and Solomon in all his glory, in his kingly array, with his golden crown upon his head, is pictured before us. His own overpowering personality is now to be brought to bear on the Shulamite, and as he stands before her we hear again his courtly compliments. They are studied and rhetorical, nothing effective is omitted, but they remind us of what he first said, when he compared her to a steed in Pharaoh's chariots; they are a catalogue of good points rather than the outburst of an impassioned love. He seems not to succeed so well now as on the former occasion, for with the words, "Until the day be cool and the shadows flee away, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh, to the hill of frankincense" (4:6); the Shulamite apparently seeks the quiet of the palace gardens, while Solomon, after one more word, leaves her for a season. Alone with her own thoughts, she communes again in soul with the absent beloved. In her reverie in the garden she almost unconsciously contrasts the studied and finished compliments of Solomon with the fresh, unstudied and natural outburst of the beloved. The call that is wafted to her from the north is but the echo of her own longings,—"With me from Lebanon, O Bride, with me from Lebanon come; look from the top of Amana, from the top of Senir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." "Thou art a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters and flowing streams from Lebanon" (4:8, 15),—and she responds with the words, "Awake, O north wind" (4:16).

It would be almost impossible to understand chap. 5 : 1 of the beloved Shepherd if he were present in bodily form, for how could he be conceived of as having really gained an entrance to the palace as the verse seems to imply? But if we look upon the verse as forming the transition from the waking reverie in the garden to the actual dream introduced in verse 2, the difficulty

vanishes. The dream that follows is more vivid than the first, and painful as the first was not. In the first she sought and found her Beloved ; in the second she loses him and is subjected to indignity. This dream is psychologically as true to nature as the other. The Shulamite is conscious enough of her personality to hesitate to admit her Beloved, and yet there rushes over her the sense that he is here at last, and perhaps about to be lost forever, and she hurries forth into the dark streets to bring him back. Incidentally this scene strengthens the shepherd theory, for the dream is just what we should expect when the difficulties had become extreme and escape seemed impossible, the anguish of mind and the hopelessness of the situation would force themselves even through the bars of sleep. Are we to suppose that she awakes now full of terror and agony of soul ? Perhaps so, but one is almost inclined to carry the dream further and to see in the appearance of the Daughters of Jerusalem but a continuation of it; certainly their sympathy and willingness to search for the Beloved seems a little strange for such devoted admirers of Solomon, but as the vagary of a dream it would be natural enough.

It is also to be noticed that the Shulamite's description of her Beloved is not in the simple language which she otherwise always uses, but is grandiloquent and strained, like the speeches we sometimes make in dreams. Yet the act closes with the words which are the renewal of her pledge, "I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine" (6:3).

The third act is introduced with less pomp and circumstance than the others. Solomon speaks again, and while he uses in part the same words as before, he is briefer than in the second act. On each previous appearance he has said, "Thou art fair, my friend." Now he says, "Thou art fair, my friend, as Tirzah" (6:4). On each of the former occasions he has compared her eyes to doves. Now he says they are terrible. "Turn away thine eyes from me," he exclaims, "for they have overcome me" (6:5). Verses 5^b-7 are a repetition of chap. 4:1^b, 2 and 3^b. It is certainly remarkable that in a book where there is so much variety, the speech put into the mouth of one of the leading

characters should be so stereotyped. It reminds one strongly of the Book of Job, where the three-fold assault upon Job's position diminishes in effectiveness each time, little indeed being added after the first cycle, and at last dies away in a few phrases, which have but little bearing upon the main point of the controversy. And just as words failed the friends of Job, so Solomon's speech seems to halt and his fluency and rhetoric to desert him.

The last trial is apparently less severe than either of the others, but let us look a little closer. The scene seems to be laid in the interior of the palace. The harem is, as it were, for a moment unveiled, and in 6:8, 9 its inmates are mentioned. As the Shulamite stands in their midst, she seems to hear the whisper of the Beloved, "There are three-score queens and four-score concubines, and virgins without number; my dove, my undefiled is but one" (6:8), but with this whisper the temptation itself may be intensified; she is the only one in the eyes of the Beloved, but she could so easily be supreme here, "the daughters saw her and called her blessed; yea, the queens and concubines, and they praised her" (6:9), and with these thoughts her memory reverts to the time before she had enjoyed this taste of royal luxury, and she seems to see again Solomon's retinue as it suddenly came upon her in her native valley, and to hear the exclamation, "Who is this that looketh forth as the morning" (6:10); she remembers how she sought to escape from the chariots of her princely people, and how they called after her, "Return, return, O Shulamite; return, return, that we may look upon thee" (6:13^a), and how she turned back with the deprecating appeal, "Why do ye look upon the Shulamite as ye would upon a dance of Mahanaim" (6:13^b). If her beauty so wrought upon them when she was but an unknown rustic maiden, what limit need she set to her power? The memory of the past is the more vivid in that she is again the center of observation and admiration. The real *crux* of the whole book is chap. 7:1-5, beginning, "How beautiful are thy feet in sandals, O prince's daughter." Almost all commentators seem certain that this describes a dancer, and if the verses be not an interpolation, as W. R. Smith, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, suggests, they must

refer to the Shulamite. Yet it is difficult to conceive of her as engaging in a voluptuous oriental dance, even before the court ladies. May not the following suggestion be helpful: Let chap. 7:1-5 be connected closely in thought with 6:9—"The daughters saw her and called her blessed"—and interpreted as the words with which the daughters praise her as she stands in their midst. Is there then anything that necessarily compels us to assume that she dances in their presence? Their praise is fulsome, and as they pass from one grace of her person to another there flashes through her mind the recollection of those first admiring exclamations which have already been commented on. I strongly incline to the view that 6:10-13 in the English, contains the thoughts which are passing through the Shulamite's mind simultaneously with the praise which the queens and concubines are showering upon her in 7:1-5. When we come to the words (verse 5) "A king held captive in the tresses," we discover the animus of the whole passage—they are the final effort of the court to move her by appealing to her vanity and love of power. Solomon himself also makes one last attempt to shake her resolution. But she is strong now, and in verses 9^b-10 she reiterates her devotion to her Beloved and her trials are ended. We see her next going forth with her Beloved and conversing with him. It is no revery this time, but a genuine reunion; it is not a vision, but a reality. Yet just as she had addressed the Daughters of Jerusalem after each vision with an adjuration, so here she addresses them again in almost the same words—only a slight note of scorn is introduced, "What reason have you in striving to stir up, to awaken love before it pleases" (8:4). It is in the concluding passages that the strongest arguments for the Shepherd Lover may be found. The suffixes in 8:5 are all masculine. "Under the apple tree I awakened *thee*" (masculine), indicating that the Shulamite is the speaker, a fact which seems fatal to the theory that Solomon is the Beloved, for he was not born in the north where this scene is evidently laid. Delitzsch seeks to break the force of the

argument by changing the pointing and reading the suffixes as feminine.

Again, verse 7, the Shulamite says, "If a man were to give all the substance of his house for love he would be utterly condemned." The Shulamite had been plied with the temptation of wealth and had overcome it.

Chapter 8 : 8, 9, which, like so many other passages, is introduced abruptly, finds its justification in verse 10. She recalls the words she had heard her brothers use, and in her triumph recognizes that she has fulfilled all their desires. "I was a wall," she exclaimed, "worthy of the turret of silver, the allurements of the court were of no avail."

Then again (verse 12), "My vineyard, which is mine, is before me, thou, O Solomon, shalt have the thousand, and those that keep the fruit thereof, two hundred. Solomon is welcome to all his glory and his riches, if he will but leave me free to do what I will with mine own."

At last we hear the voice of the Beloved himself, asking to hear her voice, just as she had told of his doing in the first act, and she responds in words like those of 2 : 17, "Make haste, my Beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices."

As a final argument for the introduction of a third character—the shepherd—may be urged the fact that, in that case, the climax comes naturally in the last chapter, the reunion with the Beloved. While according to Delitzsch's theory, at least, the climax is reached in the third chapter, where he supposes Solomon to marry the Shulamite, which makes the rest of the book read like an anticlimax.

To sum up briefly, there may be found in the book three main divisions or acts, 1 : 2—3 : 5; 3 : 6—6 : 3; 6 : 4—8 : 14.

Act I. has three well-marked scenes ; first, a dialogue between Solomon and the Shulamite, with the daughters of Jerusalem as a chorus ; second, a reminiscence in a reverie of the shepherd lover ; and third, a dream in which the Beloved is sought and found. The act ends with the words "I adjure you."

Act II. likewise has three scenes ; first, Solomon addresses

the Shulamite, who seeks to avoid his compliments ; second, a reverie in which the Beloved appears before her mind only ; and third, a dream in which the Beloved is lost, and in which the Daughters of Jerusalem appear to console her.

Act III. possesses three clearly-marked scenes : Solomon again addresses the Shulamite ; she recalls the incidents of her meeting with Solomon's train, and finally rejects him ; she then rejoins her Beloved, with whom she returns to northern Palestine.

Each act is introduced by the appearance of Solomon. A dream in which the Beloved is sought forms the concluding subject of the first and second acts, while the third act closes with the actual reunion with the Beloved. Each act, too, presents its own peculiar phase of temptation. The appeal to vanity, the glory of Solomon's personality, the love of power. But the fact that the book deals so largely with the play of emotions in the human heart makes it unlikely that it was ever composed for scenic representation.

A word or two concerning the interpretation. It is always best to put foremost the literal meaning, it is so easy to allegorize that we ought to lay some constraint upon ourselves in dealing with this book. But we need have no difficulty in presenting a clear-cut subject for the song on the simple literal theory. We see before us a soul assailed by the temptations of earthly honor and position, nevertheless retaining its integrity and fidelity. The book depicts the triumph of tried virtue, a subject by no means unworthy of the pen of inspiration. On this view it takes its place in the wisdom literature alongside of Ecclesiastes and Job.

Nevertheless there may be some shadow of right in the claims of the typical theory, provided they are not pressed too far. Marriage is so frequently in the Old and New Testament a type of the connection of God and his people, that in a book where the marriage relation and fidelity to it are so prominent, we can hardly avoid seeing, in the final outcome, an illustration of something higher. One thought in particular has grown out of this study. This little book is the record of a struggle and a victory, one temptation and trial follows another, but at last,

when all is over, there rises clear and sweet, like the notes of a soprano, the song of victory and peace, "Make haste, my Beloved, and be like to a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of spices."

There is a similar picture in the New Testament, the similarity of which must, however, be felt rather than reasoned out. In the last chapter of the Revelation, after all the struggle and turmoil and seeming defeat, there comes a period of rest, the clouds roll away, the sound of war and tumult cease and the Church triumphant emerges from the smoke of the conflict, faithful through all to the Lamb who has redeemed her. And then are heard again those clear bell-like notes, incomparably sweet and thrilling—"The Spirit and the Bride say come, and he that is athirst let him come . . . he that testifieth these things saith, yea, I come quickly. Amen, come Lord Jesus."

Are we not justified in using this little book to illustrate the longing of the Church for an absent Lord, and her faithfulness to him through every trial and temptation?

AN ANCIENT LETTER,

SOMEWHAT MODERNIZED IN STYLE

BY ERNEST D. BURTON,

The University of Chicago.

To the members of the Christian Church in Thessalonica, Paul and Timothy and Silas send Greeting. The grace of God be with you, and may all things be well with you.

Whenever I pray I always give thanks to God concerning you, and remember continually before our heavenly Father the work to which your faith has impelled you, and the toil to which your love has led you, and the patient endurance which your hope for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ has given you. For I am confident respecting you, brothers beloved of God, that you are God's elect. For when we were with you and preached the gospel to you we had the consciousness that we were not uttering empty words, but that we were speaking in power, and with the Holy Spirit, and we were fully assured that our words were not to be without effect. Our conduct also on your behalf was consonant with our speech, as you, I am sure, remember. And you on your part accepted our message with a joy given by the Holy Spirit, and this even though you were subjected to sore persecution. Thus in your joy under persecution you became imitators both of us and our Lord Jesus, and in your turn also a pattern for imitation by all the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia. For by reason of your conduct the Lord's message has been sounded forth in Macedonia and Achaia, and your faith in God has been so spoken of everywhere, that we find the gospel preached in advance of us. For the people themselves are talking about you, and are telling how we came to you, and were received, and how you cast away your idols and turned to serve a God that is living and real, and to wait for his Son to come

from the heavens, even Jesus whom God raised from the dead and who is our Saviour from the wrath to come.

For you remember, brethren, that our coming among you was not as of men crushed and shorn of power; on the contrary, though we were fresh from the sufferings and outrageous insults which we had endured at Philippi, with confidence in our God we spoke out boldly and declared to you the gospel of God, even in the midst of much conflict. For our preaching has not its source in delusion on our part, nor in any selfish motive, nor is it uttered with intent to deceive our hearers, but we speak as is befitting men who have been entrusted by God with the gospel, not seeking to please men but God, before whose scrutiny our hearts, we know, are open. We can appeal to you that we never used flattery. God is our witness that no hidden covetousness moved us, and that we never sought the praise of men either yours or others; although we might have claimed honor as Christ's apostles. But we were as simple and frank as babes among you, and as free from selfishness as a nurse when it is her own child for whom she cares. Our hearts were so full of affection for you that we were glad not only to impart unto you the gospel, but to pour out our very lives for you, so dear had you become to us. I need not remind you of our labor and toil among you, how we worked night and day that we might not be dependent on you for support, and meantime preached the gospel to you. You are our witnesses and God also how holy and upright and blameless was our conduct toward you who believed, and how, as a father his children, we exhorted you and encouraged you and charged you to walk worthily of the God who called you unto his kingdom and glory.

We thank God continually also that when you heard our message, you not only received it, but accepted it as a message from God, as it is in fact, a divine word that works in the hearts of believers. For you, brethren, followed in the steps of the Christian churches in Judea, suffering the same things at the hands of your fellow-countrymen that they endured from the unbelieving Jews, who not only slew the Lord Jesus, as they had the prophets, but drove us out. They are displeasing to God

and are enemies of mankind, seeking to prevent us from preaching to the Gentiles that they may be saved. So do they continually fill up the measure of their sins. But the divine wrath is already upon them ; their final judgment is near at hand.

But to return to our own affairs, having been separated for a time from you, dear brothers, out of sight I mean, by no means alienated in heart, we have by reason of this separation only the more earnestly longed with strong desire to see your faces. For we were on the point—I should say I, Paul, was—more than once, of coming to you, and were prevented only by obstacles interposed by Satan. For what have I to live for, what hope or joy or crown of rejoicing have I, if it be not in you and in the hope of presenting you before Jesus Christ when he comes. Verily you are my glory and my joy. When therefore I could no longer endure the suspense of absence from you and of ignorance concerning your state, I chose to be left alone at Athens and sent Timothy, our brother and God's servant in the work of the gospel of Christ, to strengthen and encourage you in the matter of your faith in Christ, that you might not be shaken in the persecutions that you are enduring. For you know yourselves that Christians must expect persecution ; to this they are appointed. For when we were with you we told you beforehand that we were certain to be persecuted, and you know that it happened as we told you. When therefore I could no longer endure the suspense I sent to learn about your faith, fearing lest the tempter had tempted you and my labor should go for naught. But now that Timothy has come and brought me good news about your faith and love and has told me that you remember me with affection, continually longing to see me as I do to see you, I have been comforted about you, finding, in all my distress and affliction, consolation in your faith. For now we live if you stand fast in the Lord. How can I thank God enough for the joy with which we rejoice before God on your account, while night and day we pray most earnestly that we may see your faces and strengthen the weak places of your faith !

May our God and heavenly Father himself and our Lord Jesus Christ remove the obstacles in the way of our coming to

you, and may the Lord make you increase and abound in love to one another and to all men, until your love equals that which we have toward you, and may he so establish your hearts in holiness that you may be blameless before our heavenly Father when our Lord Jesus Christ comes with all his holy ones.

Finally, brethren, by virtue of our spiritual union with the Lord Jesus, we entreat and exhort you that you will conduct yourselves as we taught you how to behave in order to please God. I know that you are thus behaving, but I beg you to abound more and more in such conduct. For you know what injunctions we gave you, having ourselves received them from the Lord Jesus. For it is the will of God that you should become holy, and in particular that you keep yourselves from fornication; let each of you have his own wife, and live in chaste and honorable marriage, not in the lustful manner which prevails among the nations that know not God; and let no one of you infringe upon a brother's rights in this matter, because God is an avenger concerning all these things, even as we told you before and enjoined you accordingly. For God called us not to live filthy lives but holy. Therefore if any one of you rejects this teaching, he rejects not a man but that God that gives his Holy Spirit unto you.

Now concerning mutual Christian love there is no need for me to write to you, for you yourselves are taught by God to love one another, and indeed you do love all the brethren in all Macedonia. But we exhort you brethren to continue improving, and to make it your ambition to be quiet, and to attend to your own business, and to work with your hands as we charged you to do, that you may have the esteem of those who are not Christians, and may have enough for your needs.

And now brethren I desire to say a word about those who from time to time fall asleep in death, that you may not grieve, as do the heathen, who have no hope. For if, as we believe, Jesus died and rose again, so also will God through Jesus bring again with him those who have fallen asleep. For having received it from the Lord I give to you the assurance that those of us who shall be alive, that shall survive until the Lord comes,

shall have no advantage over those that have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with voice of archangel and trumpet of God, and of those in Christ the dead shall rise first; then we, the living, that shall survive, shall together with him be caught up in the clouds into the air to meet the Lord. And so we shall always be with the Lord. So then comfort one another with these words.

But as to the times of these events, I need say nothing. For you yourselves know exactly that Jehovah's day comes as a thief in the night. When men are saying, Peace and safety, then sudden there comes upon them destruction, as travail comes upon the woman that is with child, and there is no escape. But you brethren are not in darkness to be overtaken, like thieves, by the *day*, for you are sons of light, sons of day. Belonging therefore not to darkness nor to night, let us not be asleep like the rest of the world, but let us be watchful and sober. For those that sleep sleep at night, and those that are drunk are drunk at night. But since we belong to day, let us be sober, and let us put on a breastplate of faith and love and as a helmet the hope of salvation. For we were not destined by God to be the objects of his wrath, but to attain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ; and he gave his life for us that whether our lives on earth are prolonged, or we sleep, we may in either case live, together with him. Therefore encourage one another and build one another up, as indeed you are already doing.

We entreat you brethren respecting your pastors who toil among you and are your religious leaders and admonitors, that you give them due recognition and that you esteem them very highly in love, because of their work. Live in harmony one with another. We beseech you brethren, admonish the disorderly, encourage the disheartened, sustain the weak, be patient with all. Let none of you return evil for evil to any one, but seek continually that which is for your mutual welfare and the general good. Rejoice always, pray continually, under all circumstances be thankful. For this is what God wills should through Jesus Christ come to pass respecting you. Quench not the Spirit, and do not disregard utterances of prophecy; put all

things to the test, that which is good hold fast, and from every kind of evil abstain. And may God himself, the God of Peace, sanctify you so that you may be perfect, and may you be preserved entire—spirit, soul, and body—to appear without blame when our Lord Jesus Christ comes. Faithful is he that called you, and he will do it.

My brothers, pray also for us.

Give Christian greeting unto all the brethren. I charge you before the Lord that this letter be read to all the members of the church.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

THE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS.

By T. H. Root,
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In using this term we wish to indicate not only that sphere in the study of the life of Christ which is of the greatest interest and importance, but also that point of view from which the whole life may be investigated most deeply. Our purpose in this paper is to indicate the nature of the problem presented in this term, and to consider some of its bearings.

1. *The Nature of the Problem as an Historical Problem.*—The term itself, the self-consciousness of Jesus, *i.e.*, Jesus' own consciousness of himself, refers especially to Jesus' own conception of his personality, his work, his destiny—in these being involved his relation both to God and to man. It is evident that this subject not only takes us very deeply into the life of Christ, but that it also covers a very large portion of the life. The underlying reason for this latter fact is not hard to find. Jesus lived intensely in the life of his time. He was not a mere passive observer of events. He felt himself related to all that was about him. He regarded himself as in a special way related to the life of the Jewish people. So vital and so intense was this relationship that his consciousness of them was his consciousness of them in relation to himself, and his consciousness of himself was his consciousness of himself in relation to them. He had a work to do for them. His conception of them as well as his conception of himself were necessary elements in his conception of his work. He himself, in the fullness of his consciousness of himself, was in his work. Hence it is, since the records of his life are largely the records of his work,—his deeds and words in relation to the Jewish people, we see how, of necessity, the subject of the self-consciousness of Jesus covers so widely the study of his life. The same fact explains, too, why we are so

often tempted to use the wider term, consciousness instead of the narrower term, self-consciousness. It is simply because when we are studying his consciousness as witnessed in the gospel history, it is his self-consciousness we are confronted with. No life was ever so devoid of that which commonly goes by this term as was that of Jesus. The very intensity with which he related himself to those around him rendered such a state impossible. His intense consciousness of others is the correlative of his intense consciousness of himself. The correlation was perfect, resulting in perfect poise. In the sense that we have indicated no personality ever had a self-consciousness so deep and so all-pervading.

As we go deeper and deeper into the study of the life of Christ, this problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus becomes the central ultimate problem. Our first study is external. We learn the outer events and the environment of his life; the date and place of his birth and of his death; his parentage; his early home; the periods and events of his ministry; his followers; his opponents; his crucifixion; his resurrection. The study of the life from the external point of view leads inevitably to the study from the internal point of view, and the problems which begin to confront us, even when we have pursued the external study for a comparatively short time, soon reveal themselves as deeply imbedded and as interrelated in the unity of the life itself, and insoluble, save as we seek a solution there. We do not care here to enumerate those problems, but rather to emphasize, at the outset, the importance of recognizing their true nature as elements inherent in the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus, and the necessity, in order to their solution, of regarding the self-consciousness of Jesus itself as the problem which underlies and includes them all. This study, though it seems to point to the internal life rather than to the external facts, does not minimize those facts. Rather it emphasizes them, giving them their true weight and importance, making them vitally fruitful, finding in them a transcendent value as something not in themselves external, but as the embodiment of the living Spirit,

testifying to the life within, as the imprint on the rock testifies to that which, in ages past, existed in the form of life itself.

The term may be objected to by some as being vague. It is, however, the only term that indicates the exact nature of the work before the student of the life of Christ. Indeed, if the term itself were not vague it would not adequately represent our problem. Its very vagueness makes it a true designation. The nature of the problem itself, as a problem, is not vague—nor is the term vague. But because there is a problem, and because, in the very existence of the problem, there is something before us unknown, something vague, indefinite in outline, something enveloped, in part, in cloud and mist—it is for this reason that the term, so clearly defined in itself, yet so vague in so much of its content when applied to Jesus, is so fitting. What is the self-consciousness of Jesus? What is its content? What was the exact nature, in general and in detail, of his conceptions of himself, his work, his destiny? What was his conception of his relation to God, and of his relation to man? Was there development in his consciousness? And if so, what were its stages, and what its content at its various stages?

Our question is thus seen to be one of fact. Though one in the solution of which deeply practical as well as deeply philosophical questions are involved as issues, it is itself a purely historical problem.

Whatever be our conception of Jesus at the outset, whether he be regarded as merely a preëminently good man, perhaps a perfect man; or whether he be held to be the Christ, the Son of God, the problem remains the same—one purely historical. And as an historical problem, it confronts all students of the Life of Christ as that in which alone there is any possibility of solution to the questions that arise concerning his nature. So far as we can gather from the evidence before us, what is the fact as to the consciousness of Jesus? What does a most careful, searching investigation into the documents before us, a most painstaking survey of all evidence, direct or indirect, give as to the consciousness of Jesus?

This remains, too, our problem, whatever be our belief or

theory as to the nature of those documents which purport to be the records of his life,—whether we hold a most conservative theory of inspiration, or whether we take them as human documents substantially true, or whether we regard them from the radical stand-point as a combination of fact and fiction, of substantial truth with accretions that are the result of pious fancy and superstitious reverence.

Even though there were entire unanimity as to the nature of the New Testament writings as in every respect credible witnesses to the life and teachings of Jesus, this problem would remain a most difficult one. For the question is one that necessarily goes below the text, whatever be the value we place upon the text. The problem presents to us, as its end, the organic unity of a life in which all the parts shall stand, as they must stand in such a unity, in vital and organic inter-relation. The question is not what is the sum of Jesus' teachings, or what the sum total of his deeds. These could easily be gathered, and, though with some difficulty, perhaps very great difficulty, yet in a manner approximately correct, could be classified and correlated. The question concerns the unity of the life itself, and this, in the sense in which it is sought in the problem before us, the narratives do not undertake to give. The writings of the New Testament are many in number, and, for the most part, without interdependence. They are varied in scope and purpose, and form classes widely dissimilar in nature. Each is only a partial record or witness, and this almost entirely from some other point of view than that which we are considering. Some give a purely objective narrative of deeds and teachings; others purely subjective, or else are not direct narratives at all, but are written with another purpose, as Paul's epistles. Take them as they are, with perfect credibility assumed, and a complete representation of the self-consciousness of Jesus would be by no means an easy task. The problem would still remain one of the deepest interest and importance, one whose solution would be necessary before there could be the truest understanding of the life of Christ. The material given us in the records would still have to be classified, and given its true value as an interpretation of the inner life of

Christ. Its different elements would still have to be correlated according to the inner, vital relationships of the organic life which was their source.

And when there is difference of opinion as to the nature of the records, when part is rejected as untrustworthy and only part received, the problem, though remaining essentially the same, is very much complicated. Questions of literary criticism enter. We have not only the question, what is the consciousness of Jesus? given the records from which that may be determined, but the question as to what shall be accepted as evidence, the question of credibility, the question of date, of authorship, of method of composition.

It is when such secondary problems as these confront us that the true nature of our fundamental problem is most clearly seen, and the appropriateness of the term used to designate it rendered most evident. The questions of literary origins are themselves problems whose solution is necessary and incidental to the solution of the main problem; but it is the consciousness of Jesus, as such, that will be a necessary factor in determining these secondary questions. The parts acknowledged genuine, and the consciousness of Jesus as deduced from these, must be of primary importance in determining the nature and value of those parts whose credibility and genuineness are doubted.

We have been considering the nature of the problem as an historical problem. Let us turn to the sources to which we must go for its investigation.

2. THE SOURCES. (a) *Records of the Life*.—Without considering all the New Testament writings, the bulk of the New Testament evidence may be divided into three classes. (1) The Synoptic Gospels; (2) The Fourth Gospel; (3) The Pauline Epistles. We will consider briefly the bearing of each.

(1) The Synoptic Gospels purport to be the record, direct or indirect, of eye witnesses of the events therein described. They are characterized by objectiveness of statement. Events are narrated and sayings recorded as they were enacted and spoken, and appeared to those who saw and heard them. The

Synoptic problem—the question as to the composition of these gospels—is most difficult and intricate.

(2) The Fourth Gospel purports to have been written by that disciple who, of all the disciples, was most intimate with Jesus. It would therefore be of the first value in determining the consciousness of Jesus. It is characterized by subjectiveness, rather than objectiveness of statement. The writer shows us the inner consciousness of Jesus. Whereas, in the Synoptics, Jesus is portrayed objectively as he appeared to others, here he is represented subjectively as he really was in his own consciousness of himself. The value of this gospel as a source for the consciousness of Jesus is doubly great; in the first place, in that the writer is himself the most intimate of Jesus' disciples, and the one who, of all the disciples, was best adapted, by sympathy and insight, to understand him; and in the second place, in that the discourses are given as by Jesus himself. The form is thus the form of Jesus' own self-consciousness,—in the truest sense, subjective; and the voucher for the correctness of these discourses is no less than the "disciple whom Jesus loved."

But just here comes in the critical objection that John was not the author. Here then, evidently, we have a problem to solve before we can proceed further. It is a matter of vital import, as bearing on the evidence regarding Jesus' self-consciousness, whether the Gospel was written in the middle of the second century, as asserted by Baur; or whether at the beginning of the second century by one who was a follower of John; or whether the bulk of the material is Johannine, while the book itself is a compilation by a follower; or whether, last of all, it be really John's own writing. This is without doubt the most interesting and most important problem in New Testament criticism,—most interesting and absorbing in itself, and most important in its bearing on the deepest problem of the life of Christ.

(3) Of a far different sort from either of the above is the evidence furnished by the Epistles of Paul. While the Synoptics and John give direct evidence,—the former for the most part objectively stated, the latter for the most part subjectively stated, the evidence from Paul's epistles is indirect. Here, again, the

question of authenticity comes up. But here, fortunately, we have a general unanimity as to the genuineness of the most important of the epistles. So that, though the evidence is indirect, yet the historical student has the satisfaction of feeling that these epistles before him are actually the product of Paul's own thought, written within thirty years after the crucifixion. The bearing of these epistles as to evidence regarding Jesus' consciousness is not limited to deeds and sayings of Jesus therein recorded. This evidence is by no means so slight in volume as may be supposed. But there is another sort of evidence, also indirect, which is not so much measured by bulk as by intensity —though as to bulk it would be found on every page of the epistles,—and that is, the influence that Jesus had on Paul and the inference that can be derived therefrom as to Jesus' own character, and his own self-consciousness. No one questions the reality of Paul's convictions. No one doubts for a moment that Paul most honestly and intensely believed all he professed to believe, and that these epistles above referred to (the consensus is almost universal) are the true record of his consciousness. There are two questions here: (1) The nature of Paul's own religious consciousness, its elements, its intensity, the inner consistency between the ideals which he professed and the life he lived and deeds he accomplished; and (2) the source of this consciousness. Paul himself said, "I live, yet not I, but *Christ liveth in me.*" He declares that the intense religious life he lives—its thoughts, its ideals, its achievements are not primarily his, but are derived, and that from Jesus. Jesus' life is his, Jesus' purpose, principles, ideals, convictions live in him. Jesus' consciousness inspires his, and is the life of his. In how far then can we say that we know from this the consciousness of Jesus? Evidently here is evidence of the greatest value, provided Paul is right in his conviction regarding the direct relationship existing between Jesus' life and his own. This, while indirect evidence as to the exact content of Jesus' consciousness in the form in which that consciousness existed in Jesus himself, yet is most direct evidence of the closest sort as to the general nature of that consciousness. In fact this presents

a most vital and significant query,—whether such a life as that Paul lived, with his intense conviction as to the objective reality of those ideals that ruled him, with his intense belief as to the truth of those conceptions under which he lived and worked, could have been lived,—to say nothing of perpetuating itself in some degree through centuries to the present day—had it not been that that life in all its essential features closely corresponded with objective truth. It brings up the question whether Paul was laboring under hallucination, or whether it was indeed truth that was living in him. This is the first question; and the second is that of our problem,—whether and in how far the truth that lived in him was the same truth that lived in Jesus,—whether and in how far Paul's own consciousness may be taken as witness to that of Jesus.

To say nothing of other minor portions, these three classes, the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and the Epistles of Paul, form the three great divisions of the New Testament. The New Testament writings, as we have briefly reviewed them, may be termed a direct source for the determination of the consciousness of Jesus. These are the records of the life. As another source, indirect, is to be mentioned the environment of the life. These two together, the historic record of the life, and the historic environment, form the source to which our study leads us.

(b) *Environment of the Life.*—Of great importance in determining what was the environment in which Jesus lived and under whose influence he developed, is the literature of the period. This gives to us the conceptions, ideals, expectations and hopes of the people. It is the direct product of the consciousness of the people, and is a direct witness to their life. It shows what was the atmosphere of the time. How truly representative it is of the life of the people as a whole, and of the age itself, must be shown by special study of the literature itself in its separate parts. But however isolated be the individual or the class of individuals by whom any portion of it may have been produced, each portion of it must be of some value as evidence to the actual currents of life of the time.

Of special value oftentimes is the literature in its direct bear-

ing on problems connected with our study. Take, for example, the problem of Jesus' own conception of himself as Son of Man, and his use of this term. Here it is absolutely necessary that we should know whether that term was current in the time of Christ and what signification was attached to it. Hence the necessity of investigating whether that term was used in other literature of the period than that of the New Testament, and when a book is found in which that term often occurs, and in which the features of one designated by that term are clearly sketched, then comes the necessity of determining the date of that book, and its origin, and its influence on the thought of the time. Such is the problem that confronts us in the Book of Enoch. The term Son of Man as used by Jesus takes us to the Book of Enoch, where the term is so frequent and the personage so clearly outlined. But to understand the Book of Enoch we must understand all that class of literature to which this special book belongs, viz., the apocalyptic literature; and to understand this special class we must be familiar with all the literature of the period. This one term, then, takes us to the Book of Enoch, this to apocalyptic literature, this to the literature of the period,—and here we find ourselves in currents so complex and varied that nothing short of a study of the whole period, in its history, its institutions, its traditions, will suffice for our understanding of them. The labor of many scholars, of varied individual equipment, and of diverse types of mind are necessary before we have firmly in our grasp the many elements essential to a truly satisfactory dealing with this problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus.

To know the influence that surrounded Jesus we must indeed be familiar with the whole life of the time. We must study its history, know its traditions, be at home in its institutions. We must in some way enter into the spirit of the time and get to know the genius of the people. Of special importance are those institutions round which the life of Judaism centered,—the school, the synagogue, the temple, the Sanhedrim—of these especially, most potent of all, most central of all, representing together so much of the nation's life and thought,—the syna-

gogue and the temple, with their representatives, the Scribes and the Priests. And the understanding of the history and institutions of the Judaism of that time, takes us inevitably back into the history and literature of the ancient people Israel, and of the nations whose influence entered into their destiny.

Whatever be the value which research shall show attaches to the literature of the period as bearing on our subject, supreme importance must be given to the Old Testament Scriptures. Of intrinsic importance, as containing the sublimest poetry and prophecy, and a system of law embodying the most profouud conception of God that has entered the mind of man, they are of especial interest to us in this connection, inasmuch as it was in the environment of their ideals and conceptions that Jesus lived and developed. It was in the Old Testament that Jesus found himself ; that he became conscious of himself as the Messiah. It was the Old Testament whose law and whose prophecy he came "not to destroy, but to fulfil." If the culminating interest of the Old Testament Scriptures is in their conception and prophecy of a Messiah, then much light must be thrown upon our present topic when they are thoroughly investigated anew from the point of view of the content and of the development of the self-consciousness of Jesus.

These are the sources, direct and indirect, to which we must go,—the former, the historic records ; the latter, the historic environment.

We have thus far considered briefly the fundamental importance of the problem, its historical nature, and the sources. There remain to be considered some further aspects of the problem, and some of its practical bearings.

ON THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

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IV.

Did the crucifixion take place in the year 29 A.D., or in any other year between 27 and 35?

To argue this question at length would take a volume. Those who wish to see what has been done at it can read Wieseler's *Synopsis*, Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, McClellan's *New Testament*, and an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January, 1892. I will try to state the facts briefly and make some observations upon them.

Christ suffered at the passover under Pontius Pilate, while Caiaphas was high priest, but while Annas, the last high priest but three, was still living and exercising paramount influence.

We do not know the date of the death or decline in power of Annas, but Pilate resided as Procurator in Judæa ten years (27-37 A.D.) Caiaphas began and ended his term of office sooner. The last passover at which he can have officiated was in A.D. 35. The period, therefore, in which the crucifixion must have taken place is narrowed down to the nine years 27-35 A.D.

Astronomical calculations have been several times made with a view to eliminate some of these years. For as the crucifixion took place on Friday, the 14th (or possibly the 15th) of Nisan, all those years in which the 14th of Nisan cannot have fallen on Friday (or Thursday) may be set aside. By this method the years 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, and 35 have been got rid of, and there remain only 27, 30, and 33, of which 27 is too early and 33 probably too late. Most of the authorities accept the year 30 A.D.

But, as I pointed out in the last paper, we are never sure to

a day which is the first day—or any other day—of the month, and often we cannot be sure to a month when the new year began. Thus an element of uncertainty is introduced which may vitiate all our calculations.

The writer in the *Church Quarterly*, to whom I have alluded, takes advantage of this to plead for the year 29. If in that year Nisan fell a month earlier than modern astronomy would allow, Friday, the 14th of Nisan, would coincide with March 18. And it is remarkable that March 18, 29 A.D., was given (Epiphanius tells us) in the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* as the true date of the crucifixion.

Dr. Lipsius has written a treatise on the *Acts of Pilate* (*Die Pilatus-Acten*, Kiel, 1886). The text of these acts, as it exists now, has been tampered with by some scribe who adhered to the chronology of our Lord's ministry, which was compiled by Eusebius. The result is a confused medley. But there is no reason to doubt that Epiphanius gives us the reading of the Acts which was current in his day, and the very strangeness of the date is considered to be a proof that we have here a genuine tradition.

How far is it supported by the gospels and by the opinion of the ante-Nicene fathers?

SS. Luke and John are the only evangelists who give us any further clue to the date. Let us look at S. John's statements first.

2 : 13. "The passover of the Jews [March–April] was nigh and Jesus went up to Jerusalem," cf. 2 : 23. [This visit was shortly after his baptism].

2 : 20. "In forty-six years was this temple built."

4 : 35. "Say ye not, four months more and harvest comes?"

5 : 1. "After these things was a feast [name not given] of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."

6 : 4. "And the passover [March–April] the feast of the Jews was nigh." [Jesus spent this passover in Galilee].

7 : 2. "And the feast of the Jews, tabernacles [October] was nigh."

8 : 57. "Thou art not yet fifty years old."

10 : 22. "Then came the dedication [December] in Jerusalem; it was winter."

11 : 55. "And the passover of the Jews [March–April] was nigh." [At this passover the crucifixion took place].

S. Luke's list is shorter :

1 : 5. "In the days of Herod" the Great [who died B. C. 4, spring] Christ was born. S. Matthew (2 : 4) confirms this.

2 : 2. "There issued a decree from Augustus Cæsar that all the civilized world should be enrolled. This, a first enrollment, was made when Quirinius was proconsul of Syria."

[Quirinius was proconsul of Syria A.D. 6–10. It is not improbable that he had been proconsul once before in B.C. 4, but he could hardly have held a census of Judæa while Herod the Great or Archelaus reigned. [Archelaus was deposed A.D. 6].

3 : 1. "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar [A.D. 28–29] John the Baptist began to preach."

3 : 23. "And Jesus himself was beginning to be about thirty years old" at his baptism.

When we look at these dates the first question that strikes us is, How long did our Lord's ministry last? The earliest answer is that of Irenæus, who puts it at about twenty years, for he began to teach when about thirty years old (Luke 3 : 23) and continued till nearly fifty (John 8 : 57) and as he came to save and sanctify every time of life, it was fitting that he should pass through age as well as youth. Now Irenæus was born in the province of Asia, the very center of church life in the sub-apostolic age. No one had a better opportunity of getting correct information than he; and he declares that "all the elders who had known John the disciple of the Lord in Asia witness that he gave them this tradition." (Adv. Haer. 11 : 22, 4 ff., v. xxxiii. 3).

The Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott) in his Commentary on John (8 : 57) writes: "However strange it may appear, some such view is not inconsistent with the only fixed historical dates which we have with regard to our Lord's life, the date of his birth, his baptism, and the banishment of Pilate."

Suppose the crucifixion to have taken place at the latest pos-

sible date, viz., A.D. 35. Fifty years from that would bring us to 15 B.C. Our Lord, if born then, would have been eleven years old at Herod's death, and the flight into Egypt (Matt. 2:13) must either be rejected as unhistorical or must have lasted several years, and would thus come into conflict with S. Luke 2:39-41, in which we read that Joseph and Mary, after performing all the requirements of the law respecting Mary's purification, returned to Nazareth and dwelt there, except that they annually visited Jerusalem to keep the passover. Again Tiberius celebrated his *decennia* or tenth year festivities in A.D. 24. His fifteenth year, therefore, was 28-29, at which date our Lord would have been forty-four years old, and not, as S. Luke affirms, about thirty (Luke 3:23). In the third place, the census under Quirinius (Luke 2:2) will be twenty-one years wrong and quite impossible. I wish that the bishop had stated his exact meaning more clearly. It seems to me that ten years is the utmost length to which we can stretch the ministry without throwing overboard S. Luke's chronology altogether. That it really did last about ten years I think not improbable. It would be natural to say "You are not yet fifty" to a man of nearly forty, but, bad though the Jews were as observers, they would hardly say this to a man of thirty-two, especially when "You are not yet forty" would be more suitable for rhetorical reasons, and there does not seem to be any mystical significance in the number fifty that they should choose it on that account.

If the ministry lasted about ten years, the gospels are seen to be more fragmentary than ever, S. John's feasts are not a complete list, and new significance is given to his rhetorical *hyperbole* in 21:25: "There are many other things which Jesus did, and if they be written every one, I suppose that not even the world itself would contain the books which should be written."

On the other hand, the Gnostics, the Clementine homilies, Clement of Alexandria, and other ante-Nicene authorities restrict the ministry to one year, in defense of which opinion they quoted the verse, "To preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke 4:19). These persons have some right to claim the synoptists

on their side. The entire absence of dates from S. Mark gives the impression that no great length of time is described in his gospel, and that impression is heightened by his fifty-six "straight-ways." If the events really cover a period of three or more years, my contention of the unchronological character of S. Peter's memoirs¹ is fully established. S. Luke seems to me either to have held that the ministry lasted one year only or to have put the crucifixion about A.D. 33. When he says that the Baptist began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 28-29) he cannot leave more than a year for the ministry unless the crucifixion be postponed. It is easy, as we have seen, to postpone it, but we should not thereby set matters right, for S. Luke's date for the commencement of the ministry would clash with John 2:20, where we read, "In forty-six years was this temple built." Herod began to restore the temple in B.C. 20 (Josephus B. J. 1:21 (16) 1. Antt. 15:11 [14:1]). Forty-six years from that date will bring us to A.D. 26, or to the pass-over of 27.

The pressure of this difficulty has so long been felt that commentators have suggested that S. Luke calculated the reign of Tiberius, not from the death of Augustus in August, A. D. 14, but from a supposed partition of the imperial power two years and a half earlier. For this partition there is no warrant, and we can have little hesitation in setting it aside as a fiction suggested by harmonists in despair.

I have shown that all the chronological data in S. Luke are "editorial notes" and stand on a different footing historically from the rest of the gospel. They are S. Luke's own ideas, the result of his private investigations. It seems to me to be impossible to get over the difficulties which Schürer in his "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ" has shown to lie in the account of the census (Luke 2:2). There is a similar difficulty about Theudas in Acts 5:36, unless Josephus has made a mistake, which is not unlikely. It is of the utmost importance in apologetics to recognize different degrees of historical attestation in the gospels. There are occasionally weak links. We

¹ *Composition of the Four Gospels*, pp. 21-22.

must not make the strength of the chain depend on them, but deny that the gospels are constructed on the chain principle.

But how did those authors who reduced the ministry to one year explain S. John? It was suggested by M. H. Browne (*Ordo sæclorum*, 1844) that the defining words "the passover" in John 6:4 are a mistaken gloss, and that the verse originally ran "Now the feast of the Jews was nigh," by which statement a Jew would mean the feast of tabernacles (the same feast which is mentioned in 7:2), but a Christian would more naturally understand the passover. The words in question are found in every extant manuscript and version of S. John, nor is any doubt of their genuineness asserted by ancient writers. Nevertheless Dr. Hort has obelized them in Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, rather for calling attention to ancient chronologies than to assert that they are really spurious. Unless they were absent from certain manuscripts, he does not see how they can have been overlooked.

If they were struck out, S. John's chronology would become beautifully simple. His feasts would run, passover (March-April; 2:13, 23), pentecost (?) (May; 5:1), tabernacles (October; 6:4; 7:2), dedication (December; 10:22) passover (March-April; 11:55), and the whole period would cover one year together with a few weeks which intervened between the baptism and the first passover.

We must not bring up John 4:35 to disprove this view. That verse may mean "Harvest is four months distant from the present moment." And if it does mean that, Christ must have been speaking in or near December, for the Jewish harvest fell in April; whereas the one-year hypothesis would require him to be speaking shortly after passover, in April itself. But the verse is almost certainly a proverb: "Say not ye [when you have planted your barley] four months more and harvest comes?" Barley was planted about the end of November. Four months is the *minimum* time between the close of sowing and the commencement of reaping.

The one-year ministry would solve many difficulties. It is the only scheme which reconciles S. Luke, S. Matthew and S.

John. Possibly it is true. What I wish to emphasize is this consideration, that if we cannot positively decide between one year and ten, we must be prepared to keep our minds open on many biblical controversies.

Eusebius decided that our Lord's ministry lasted four years. He assumed that the unnamed feast in S. John 5:1 was a passover. Many students at a very early date adopted this view, for S. John's curiously indefinite statement, "After these things was *a* feast of the Jews," was altered in the second century into the more natural "*the* feast," which Christians took for the passover. The first year, therefore (which was probably a short one) ended, according to Eusebius, with the passover of 2:13, 23; the second year with the supposed passover of 5:1; the third with the passover of 6:4, and the fourth with the passover of 11:55, at which the crucifixion took place. Eusebius, whose chronological system obtained wide acceptance, argued thus: (1) We read in S. Luke 3:1 of the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas. Our Lord's ministry must have begun under Annas and ended under Caiaphas. Three high priests came between them. Allowing them one year apiece (John 11:49-51; 18:13) we get four years. (2) Our Lord's ministry began in A. D. 29, the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and a solar eclipse took place during the crucifixion. Phlegon mentions an eclipse of the sun in the year A. D. 33. This also gives four years. (3) Daniel, 9:27, speaks of three and a half weeks, at the end of which the sacrifice and meat offering should cease. Assume that each week represents a year and you get three years and a half for the ministry.

The first of these arguments rests on a mistake. S. Luke says that when the Baptist came forth "Annas or Caiaphas (as we should express it) was high priest." Caiaphas was the nominee of Rome, Annas exercised the real power. The faithful hesitated to give the sacred title to the puppet who depended for his position on the will of the foreigner. The second argument rests on a double mistake. A solar eclipse cannot happen when the moon is at the full, as must be the case during passover, nor can it last much longer than eight minutes. True, Eusebius

might quote S. Luke who, according to the true text, attributed the term three hours' darkness to an eclipse of the sun; but this he did in one of his "editorial notes," which, as we have seen, express his own opinions which are not always warranted. Of all the schemes which we have examined, this four years (or rather three years and a half) scheme of Eusebius has been the most popular because of the prophecy of Daniel, the meaning of which is at least uncertain. It is supposed also to be supported by S. Luke 13:7, "Behold there are three years from the time that I come seeking fruit on this fig tree," though the number "three" in a parable is more likely to have a mystical meaning of completeness, as in S. Luke 11:5; 13:21, 32.

Much more may be said for the scheme which makes the ministry last two years and a fraction. This reduces the discrepancy between SS. Luke and John, suits the date of the temple building, and accords with the Acts of Pilate.

The unnamed feast of S. John 5:1 is not in the least degree likely to be passover, pentecost or tabernacles. It is much more probably a minor festival. Wieseler, Meyer and Godet argue for Purim (March); Dr. Westcott for trumpets (September).

We have passed in review a great number of subjects of engrossing interest to all biblical students. We have shown that many received opinions need revision. We have pointed out places where further investigation is desirable and we have submitted some new proposals. Our general conclusion is, that certainty is unattainable, but unless the ministry lasted about ten years, the most probable date for the crucifixion is 9 A.M. to 3 P.M., on Friday the fourteenth of Nisan, A. D. 29, and that the fourteenth of Nisan probably fell on March 18.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Institute will be held in New York City during the last week in October.

At that meeting will be discussed a plan for extending the work of the Institute into all departments of biblical work in a systematic way. These departments will include the Theological Seminary and the College, through publications; ministers and Bible students, through correspondence work; the general public, through reading courses, Extension lectures and summer schools, the Young Peoples' Societies, through study courses, the Sunday Schools, down to the primary grade, through lessons and examinations.

The plan thus embraces a complete organization for biblical work from the highest to the lowest grade. It will be stated in complete detail in the November number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.

Correspondence Courses: At this season of the year it may be well to call the attention of the readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* who are planning their work for the year to the correspondence courses of the Institute. They are as follows:

1. *Hebrew, First Course:* for Beginners. One who has never seen a Hebrew letter can take this up with confidence. Every step of the work will be made very clear. In order, however, to master Hebrew etymology, a second course is necessary.

2. *Hebrew, Second Course:* for Reviewers, *i. e.*, those who have become "rusty" in their Hebrew, and for those who have completed the First Course. This course completes the study of the grammatical principles—includes the reading of 24 chapters in the Hebrew Bible, and the acquisition of a fair vocabulary.

3. *Hebrew, Third Course:* for those who are acquainted with Hebrew, but would like to pursue an organized course of advanced study. It is a critical and scholarly study of Exod. 1-24.

4. *Hebrew, Fourth Course:* Post-exilic Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, for those who have attained considerable proficiency. The course is one which calls for much research and independent thought. It is a most practical course for a pastor.

The work is unrivalled for accuracy, completeness and method. Hundreds of ministers and teachers pursue it for the sake of acquiring a method and a sound stimulus for all other study.

5. *New Testament Greek, First Course*: for Beginners, including the mastery of the Greek of John 1-4, of the principles of the language and the memorizing of about 300 Greek words.

6. *New Testament Greek, Second Course*: for Reviewers completing the study of the text of John's Gospel and of the grammar and syntax of New Testament Greek, together with the reading at sight of the First Epistle of John.

7. *Aramaic*: for Beginners. A comparative and analytical study of the Targum of Onkelos on Gen. 1-10 in connection with the Hebrew. Reading of selections from the Targums and of all the Biblical Aramaic.

8. *Arabic*: for Beginners, leading to a mastery of the Quran. It includes the reading of Gen. 1 and 2, and about 20 Suras of the Quran, with a mastery of the grammatical material and vocabulary.

9. *English New Testament, First Course*: The Gospel of Luke. A course which should be taken first by those who wish thoroughly to master the New Testament. It is treated inductively, according to a plan which harmonizes happily with the logical structure of the Gospel, and leads to the mastery of the plan of the Gospel and its development, the critical and other questions that arise, the historical background and the fundamental teachings.

10. *English New Testament, Second Course*: The Gospel of John. A very strong course, developed on an inductive plan especially suited to the peculiar structure of the book. One who has mastered this course, as well as that on the Gospel of Luke, will have carefully studied all the material of the New Testament bearing on the life of the Christ.

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Exploration and Discovery.

SOME EGYPTIAN NAMES IN GENESIS—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE OLDEST PERIOD, ETC.

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED.
Berlin University.

In accordance with a purpose already expressed in a former number of this journal, the writer would like to present herewith, the latest identifications of some of the more important proper names in Genesis, which are of undoubted Egyptian origin. Professor, formerly Dr. Steindorff of this University and assistant director of the Royal Museum, now just appointed to succeed Ebers in Leipzig, has recently presented the true solution of the first of the three names in Gen. 41:45, *Zaphenath-paneah*, which has long been a puzzle to Egyptologists. In the latest period of Egyptian history, that is, not earlier than the twentieth dynasty, but more frequently in the twenty second, and with marked frequency in the twenty-sixth, or Saitic dynasty (*i. e.*, after 700 B. C.), occurs a series of names having the following form:

Speaks-[god's name]-he-lives, or, in good English, “*the god speaks and he lives.*” With a name of this sort, Steindorff has identified the name *Zaphenath-paneah*. Let the English reader bear in mind, that neither in the Hebrew or Egyptian original were the vowels written, and that only consonants are to be taken into account. The consonants, as written in our English transcription then, compare with the Egyptian as follows:

Rev. Vers., z—ph-nth—p—nh

Egyptian, d—p'—nt—f—'nh

*Speaks-the-god-he-lives.**

Into the identification of consonants, it is impossible to enter here, but even the exclusively English reader cannot fail to see the similarity. In the above name it is interesting to note that no particular god as *Amon* or *Re'* is named, but only “*the god.*” That this should indicate a monotheistic feeling in applying the name is hardly possible, though Lagarde, whose explanation of the name was ungrounded, thought this to be the case.

The second name in the above verse is, in the English spelling, *Asenath*.

* The Egyptian consonants for “*speak*” are *dd* and for “*god*” are *ntr*, but the final *d* and *r* are lost in the later period, as the Coptic and many Greek transcriptions show.

Names of this form are to be found in the middle, and even in the old Empire (c. 2900—2500 B.C.) At this time, however, the name was very rare, and it is only in the twenty-first dynasty and subsequently (after c. 1040 B.C.) that it occurs with any frequency. Written with its consonants only, the name according to the English spelling is *s nth*. Of these, the *s* is the remainder of an old word *ns*, meaning "belonging to." The *n*, however, was easily lost, as many Greek transcriptions of similar names show, e.g., *Sminis*, *Sbendetis*; then to render pronunciation easier an *e* was often prefixed to the *s*. This prosthetic vowel was represented by Aleph in the Hebrew spelling, and becomes *a* in our English transcription *Asenath*. The remainder of the word, *nth*, or *n* and an aspirated *t*, furnishes the consonants of the name of the goddess *Neit*, written in Egyptian *Nt*. The whole name therefore means "belonging to Neit."

The third name, spelled in our English version *Pōti-phera*, is unknown, either to the old, middle, or new empire, and appears for the first time in the twenty-second dynasty (*i.e.*, after 930 B.C.). It is rare, however, until the twenty-sixth dynasty (seventh century B.C.) Like the two preceding, it is formed with the name of a god, thus combined "*whom-gave + god's name*," or in good English "*whom the god gave*." Spelled with the consonants alone, as was done above, the name is thus compared with the Egyptian:

Rev. Vers., P—t—ph—r
Egyptian, p'—di'—p'—r^c
 whom-gave-the-god.

The god here used is *Re'*, or the sun-god, with whom, in this late time, all other gods were identified, and hence his name comes to be used as the ordinary word for god and receives the article as above.

Now if the reader has noted the dates at which these names occur, he has observed that the *second only*, Asenath, could have been in existence in the time of Joseph; that further, these three names could not have occurred contemporaneously before 930 B.C., that is to say, not even in the time of Moses, much less that of Joseph. But the investigation furnishes further, a very interesting result, when we note the period at which these names for the first time became common, so that, for instance, Poti-phera might have been the name of one out of every three men; this period is the twenty-sixth dynasty, and it is to this period that the evidence of these names would point for the origin of the passage in Genesis where they occur. This is quite in harmony with the results of criticism, and coming thus from an independent historical source is doubly convincing. The writer of the passage, as is so often the case with the chronicler, simply reads back into the past, the conditions (in this case names) which he finds common in his own time.

In this connection, the identification of two names in Gen. 10:13–14, may be added, viz: *Naphthuhim* and *Pathrusim*. The second of these (removing the Hebrew plural ending *im*) has been identified with the Egyptian *p' t' rsī*

"*the south land.*" On the basis of this identification, Erman has corrected the word *Naphtuhim* to correspond to the Egyptian *p' t' mhī* "*the north-land,*"—a correction in which he is certainly amply justified. The two words therefore mean nothing more nor less than upper and lower Egypt—a division known in the earliest times, and by reason of which, the nation was so often called on the monuments "the two lands."

The past year has witnessed the identification of an interesting inscription long known to exist in *Hauran*, on the east side of Jordan, but never before investigated. From a photograph and a squeeze, both the work of Herr Schumacher, Professor Erman has been enabled, by long and close inspection of the faint impressions, to determine the nature of the inscription or of the *bas-relief*, for it is more than a mere inscription. Cut into the rocky wall was the figure of a Pharaoh offering with outstretched arms a tiny figure of the goddess *M'a't* or *Truth* to a god, here pictured as the standing figure of a man. It is a representation common enough in Egypt, on tombs, in temples, in stone-quarries, or wherever a blank wall offered opportunity. The interest here, however, centers on the identity of this Pharaoh, who turns out to be Ramses II, and the fact that his suzerainty extended to the east of Jordan is not without interest. Though the much injured name of this king is still readable, *Wesr-m'a'-re' chosen-of-Ra*," that of the god is not Egyptian, and offers an unknown combination of consonants. It is undoubtedly some local Canaanitish god, so obscure as to be unknown to us.

Schiaparelli, the Italian orientalist, has recently offered the learned world an intensely interesting find, in the discovery and immediate publication of an unknown inscription of the oldest period, as it belongs in the sixth dynasty. For his speedy publication of the document, all credit is due to the Italian scholar, but his unfamiliarity with the language of this archaic period, has much crippled his translation. The inscription was found in the grave of one *Hir hwf* in *Assuan*, a prince of *Elephantine*, under two kings of the sixth dynasty, and must be dated at the latest before 2500 B. C. Of the two parts of the inscription, one recounts three journeys of *Hir hwf*, and the other contains a letter of the king in reply to one from *Hir hwf*. The three journeys described, were directed chiefly to a land called *Im'm*, and Erman's investigations have identified this land with the *Soudan*, or a region in the *Soudan*. That Egypt at this remote period should have established connection with, and imported products from the *Soudan*, was something as little suspected by Egyptologists as the lively intercourse between the Pharaohs and the kings of the Mesopotamian valley, which the *El Amarna* tablets have shown existed a thousand years later. Yet such is the result which the inscription of *Hir hwf* establishes beyond a doubt, and the *Soudan* question is older than any diplomat of to-day ever dreamed.

In view of the above inscription, and the great linguistic difficulties which it, along with the pyramid texts offers, it will not be without interest to the

reader to know that Erman's new grammar of the "Old Egyptian" is now on the press. This work is the first scientific treatment of the old language that has yet seen the light, Erman having already treated of the later language in his "*Neuaegyptische Grammatik*" and "*Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar.*" These books, with the new Coptic grammar of Stein-dorff, which is also in press, will open this important field of philology, history, and archæology to many, who otherwise could never have found their way through the maze of unscientific and antiquated treatises which have so long cost the study of Egyptology its proper recognition as a science.

Synopses of Important Articles.

A PROPHET'S VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL ETHICS. By REV. JOHN TAYLOR,
in *The Expositor* for August. Pp. 96-107.

Amos left Bethel not because of alarm, but because, in his opinion, his further stay would be useless. When he leaves, his work is unfinished, his preaching had been a failure, but the matter of it was true. He is the first to have conceived the idea of recording the sermons which he had preached. In the written résumé touches are added. In this putting together of what had been spoken he prefixes chapters 1:2 to 2:3, in order to show his brethren in the North that he did not regard them as the only sinners. These chapters contain a rapid survey of the doings of the Syrians, the Philistines, the Phœnicians, Edom, Ammon and Moab. (1) Israel's history had been largely affected by that of Damascus, but Damascus had been guilty of the greatest cruelties, notwithstanding they had knowledge of the divine will. "Cruelty to the conquered" is a sin against the law written in the heart. "The aptness to deny the rights of man when the man is an open foreign foe" is the first misdeed against which the prophet of Tekoa speaks. Because of this sin the city shall be destroyed. (2) The Philistines, Israel's neighbors on the southwest, are guilty of a meaner vice—making raids for slaves. With limited power, but great spite, they continue hostile to their foe. "The craftiness, the pitilessness, the sordid selfishness of a people, small in every sense of the word, is branded here." "The slave hunter is the meanest of creatures." For this crime Philistia shall perish. (3) Next to slave-hunting is slave-dealing. Of this crime against international ethics, the Phœnicians are guilty, and besides this traffic in men on the part of Tyre was a breach of the covenant of brothers, whether Tyre committed the crime against other Phœnician or Canaanite peoples or against the Hebrews, in violation of the brotherly covenant that had so long subsisted between them. A covenant is a covenant. (4) Edom has pursued his brethren with the sword. Edom was always ready to take advantage of the distress of Judah. Any natural feelings of pity which Edom may have felt were crushed down. The hate of the Edomites was carefully treasured up. They were guilty of the sin of fostering and perpetuating an anger that ought to have died. (5) The desire for increase of territory was one with which the prophet had no sympathy. Ammon commits the bloodiest atrocities in order to secure an enlargement of border. The prophet is filled with indignation at the ripping up of women with child—a cruelty than which a greater can hardly be named. Ammon for this shall be

carried off by her foes. (6) The degradation of one's enemy by insults heaped upon a dead body deserves punishment. It is a national crime to illtreat the bodies of the dead ; a crime for which Moab shall perish. The international code of Amos thus presented is chiefly occupied with war. However defective this code may be it is clear that it exhibits a loftier standard of international ethics than the nations of Christendom have observed.

The writer's introductory remarks as to the origin of these passages is entirely without basis. There seems to be no good reason why this chapter should not have been one of the sermons preached by Amos in the northern kingdom. It was necessary for Amos to catch the ear of the people whom he wished to influence. His introductory sermon, therefore, tells the people of Israel of the destruction which is coming upon others. Such words would be accepted with great favor. As soon, however, as the prophet has secured their attention, and made clear to them that a universal judgment is about to be executed, he unmasks himself with all the strength and vigor of his personality, and hurls out against Israel herself and Judah, his own land, the threats of coming destruction because of sin against Jehovah.

The presentation of the thought, aside from the unfounded theory of the introduction, is most interesting and valuable.

W. R. H.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EZRA IV. 6-23. II. By THE RIGHT REV. LORD ARTHUR C. HERVEY, D.D., in *The Expositor* for July, 1893. Pp. 50-63.

The difficulty lies in attempting to explain the relation of the above-mentioned verses to their context. Apparently and on first reading, they seem to say that Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes came between the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. Several hypotheses have been proposed to wipe out this blot. They are manifestly so unreasonable that they easily vanish before a full study of the light. The true explanation lies in the supposition that the later compiler, in putting together the hindrances to the building of the temple in the days of Zerubbabel, adds similar instances from the times of Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes. He does not attempt a chronological order, but simply to enumerate the difficulties with which the chosen people contended in the building of their temple and city. Possibly the same compiler who did this also inserted the second chapter out of Nehemiah's sources. It is no objection that these verses and on through 6 : 18 are Aramaic. It may have been that there was a complete Hebrew narrative of this record, and the substitution of Aramaic therefore may be purely accidental. This whole study, however, gives us the true composition of Ezra, and the difficulties of chronology, names, numbers, and incongruous history vanish away. Ezra tells a consistent and instructive story.

PRICE.

BALAAM: PROPHET AND SOOTHSAYER. By REV. DAVID MERSON, B.D., in *The Thinker* for September, 1893. Pp. 215-223.

We shall endeavor to dig down to the secret spring of action in this "strange mixture of a man." Everything about him seems to be awry.

There is a complete rupture between his words and his actions. There is the appearance of wavering at times, but not the wavering of weakness—it is the volition of a strong mind. The actions of a man at the supreme moment of his life are the best test of what he really is. This crisis reveals the character. We must let Scripture tell its own tale about Balaam, and then draw the inference that the premises warrant. Two opposite and extreme views of his character have been reached as a result of the separate study of the two sides of his nature. Neither of these is correct. Let us examine the evidence. Was he a prophet of Jehovah? Not in the same sense as Elijah and Isaiah. For they were prophets under the covenant and loyal to God and to the truth, while Balaam was outside the covenant and proved false to the cause he represented.

To understand Balaam we must study him in his surroundings. He lived amid idolaters and eastern superstitions. He was a representative of monotheism charged to keep alive the knowledge of one God, though frightfully degrading his mission by divination. Soothsaying became jugglery and magianism magic. Balaam's profession had sunk so low that it seems to have been engaged in for the benefit of the class. The meanest spirit pervaded his work as a prophet. He was accustomed as a diviner to take a fee for his services, but when delivering the message of God he had no right to exact hire. In this case he desired so to modify the message as to entitle him to Balak's reward. He erred in carrying the commercial spirit into the spiritual sphere, and acting as if God's favor or frown could be bought for money. This was his fatal error, and shows that one with great gifts is often far removed from a gracious heart.

There are similar instances among those who enjoyed greater privileges than Balaam. We find Saul, and "the man of God who came out of Judah" (1 Kings 13:1); the former wilfully broke through divine restraints and rushed headlong to ruin; the latter, though at one time under divine inspiration, passed under a cloud in an act of deliberate disobedience. Judas Iscariot, Simon Magus, and Demas made shipwreck on the same rock of worldliness, avarice, and greed. They used their spiritual privileges for unspiritual ends. Balaam's case was not unique. They all saw the light, but wilfully shut their hearts against it. They saw the better, but followed the worse.

Let us follow this seer in his crooked career. His reputation as given by Balak warrants the inference that God had spoken through him in the past—that he was a man gifted with a real prophetic insight and spirit. This gift, however, was no safeguard against error in conduct. When appealed to by Balak he was much in the same position as Elisha when Naaman brought him presents as an inducement to cure the leper of his disease. The temptation was the same in both cases, but how different was the conduct of the two tempted prophets! The contrast shows the point where Balaam went wrong. His reply to the deputation contains an implied desire to go, and Balak takes

advantage of it. He knew his man and worked on his weaknesses. By and by, at the call of a second deputation, his scruples give way and he goes. His sudden arrest on the way reveals his motive, and brings him to his senses. It is sufficient to say that the ass was understood by Balaam only. In fact the narrative requires such explanation. With apparent submission he proceeds on his way, and gives utterance to transcendent truths. He occupies a distinct place in the scheme of divine revelation. Though not a "holy man of old," he nevertheless received and delivered a divine message. In any theory of inspiration this phenomenon must be reckoned with.

The closing tragedy reveals the depths of degradation to which this gifted man had sunk. He had been deterred from publicly cursing Israel, but he had a more effective method of bringing down the curse which Balak desired. Scripture utters the final sentence on Balaam. Richly endowed, he neglects the fear of God for his greed of gain, and in his final pursuit of the prize dashes upon the rocks. His career remains a perpetual light-house to warn those who deliberately forsake the favor of God and their duty.

PRICE.

SAMSON: WAS HE MAN OR MYTH? By REV. PROF. W. GARDEN BLAIKIE,
D.D., LL.D., in *The Expository Times* for September, 1893.

To prove the story of Samson a myth is to increase the difficulties already existing. One accepts the idea of myth in any case only because "it makes the narrative more reasonable, more harmonious, more natural." If the assumption of myth makes it more inconsistent, more purposeless, it should not be accepted. Four considerations oppose the hypothesis of myth: (1) If only a mythical story, the circumstances connected with the birth of Samson would surely have been developed into something very different from that which we find given as his life. How, unless it is historical, may we connect the exploits and jokes, the savagery and recklessness, the lack of gravity and even decency, with the circumstances of his birth, which certainly would have led us to look for something holy and angelic? (2) If the story is a myth, why does it designate him by the sacred character of Nazarite, an order of the highest dignity, representing composure of mind and control of body, and at the same time describe him as one who outrages the office of Nazarite in his ordinary habits and demeanor? Why should it represent him as especially set apart and given strength to resist one form of bodily appetite, and at the same time as the slave of an appetite still worse? (3) If a myth or legend, how is the service which Samson rendered to his country to be explained? Samson upon the whole sustains good feelings toward the Philistines. He attacks them only in revenge for some personal injury. His work is wholly personal. He is not a hero whom men love. He has no particular interest in his people. There is nothing in the representation which accords with the legendary spirit. (4) The legendary theory is incompatible with the treatment received by Samson from the tribe of Judah. There is no reference of

any respect for him on the part of the people. He leads them to no great deliverance. He seems to have moved about all alone. Why did not the tribes rally about him and allow him to lead them to victory? As a matter of fact they scolded him, laid hold of him and bound him to deliver him into the hands of their enemies. Is this the representation of a myth? "What glory could such legends bring either to the hero or to the nation?"

But from the ordinary point of view how shall the narrative be explained? (1) Samson was raised up for a special service, gifted in one respect, though defective in all others. In this respect he was like every man raised up by God to do his work. This great gift was faith, and in Samson's case to it was added extra bodily strength. He did not act solely to revenge personal injuries. His last act was something more than the act of personal injury. He desires to show the inferiority of the Philistines' God. (2) It is to be remembered that Samson never used his supernatural strength for his personal advantage. What might he not have done? But so far as the record goes this strength is never manifested except against the enemies of his country. Why did he not crush the Philistine power? Because the tribes did not gather around him? Milton's tribute is to be indorsed—

"Living or dying thou hast fulfilled
The work for which thou wast foretold
To Israel, and now liest victorious
Among thy slain."

An interesting, and, as far as it goes, satisfactory defense of the historical character of the narrative concerning Samson.

W. R. H.

THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION AND MODERN THOUGHT. By PROFESSOR JAMES ORR, D.D., Edinburgh, in *The Thinker* for July, 1893.

A recent ecclesiastical decision in Germany has again brought into prominence the question: How far the miraculous conception is an essential part of the faith of the Church about Christ. The decision referred to is that of Herr Schrempf, a young Würtemberg pastor, who a year ago was deposed by his ecclesiastical superiors for his refusal to use the so-called Apostles' Creed in the public service of baptism. The controversy brought about by this case has been heated, Harnack and other writers of Ritschian tendency vigorously defending Herr Schrempf.

There are some theologians—whose Christianity Professor Orr does not dream of doubting—who hold that the narratives of the miraculous conception might conceivably be regarded as legendary additions to the original Apostolic tradition, and yet faith in Christ himself, as respects the main features of his character and claims, might be thought not to be affected. The immediate object of faith, they contend, is Christ's person,—Christ himself; whether he came into the world in a supernatural manner is a secondary

question to be decided on historical grounds. But it may be, says Professor Orr, that faith in Christ and the doctrine of the supernatural birth are not so loosely related as is thus supposed. "It may very well be that Christ's person is the direct and immediate object of faith, and yet that, in the nature and reality of things, the supernatural birth is the necessary presupposition of that person, and therefore a fact which faith, whether at first it realizes all that is implied in it or not, is vitally concerned in holding fast." We may regard as sound that instinct of the early church which led them to place the supernatural birth among the few fundamental articles of the earliest creed.

Not only without the church, but within the church, from Schleiermacher down, the tendency has been strong to dispute the historical character of the narratives of the miraculous conception, and to treat the belief in the fact as at least unessential.

1. Critically, the tendency is to regard the narratives as legendary. Thus, *e.g.*, Meyer, Ewald, Beyschlag, Keim, etc.

2. Dogmatically, the belief is treated as unessential. Thus, *e.g.*, Meyer on Matt. 1, and now very emphatically by writers of the Ritschian school.

3. Scientifically, it is held to be inadmissible. "This, however, is dangerous ground to take. Professor A. B. Bruce well points out the issues in his recent work on Apologetics. 'A sinless man,' he says, 'is as much a miracle in the moral world as a virgin-birth is a miracle in the physical world. If we are to hold a speculative view of the universe which absolutely excludes miracles, then we must be content with a Christianity which consists in duly appreciating a great but not perfect character, or cease to profess Christianity at all. If, on the other hand, to satisfy the demands of our religious nature we insist on retaining the moral miracle, then we must provide ourselves with a theory of the universe wide enough to make room for as much of the miraculous element as may appear to the wisdom of God necessary for realizing his great end in creating and sustaining the universe.'"

Professor Orr considers the dogmatic aspect, referring to Weiss and others for what may be urged in reply to critical objections. The question he asks is this: "How far does the simple fact of a new creative origin such as we have in Christ—of a sinless personality—or on the higher level of faith, of the union of the Godhead with humanity in the Incarnation, involve a supernatural act in the production of Christ's bodily nature?" After referring to certain problems of evolution, he goes on to say: "But the point I wish to press here is that the view which postulates a supernatural cause for the mind of man and hands over his body to the ordinary processes of evolution is untenable. For see the difficulty in which such a view binds itself. It is a corollary from the known laws of the connection of mind and body that every mind needs an organism fitted to it. If the mind of man is the product of a new cause, the brain, which is the instrument of that mind, must share in its peculiar origin. The higher mind cannot be put into the simian brain. From the human brain to the ape brain there is, as science tells us, 'an abrupt fall,'

and no links have yet been discovered to fill up the gap between. Evolution on the theory in question, has brought up the brain of man's simian ancestor to a given point; then a higher cause comes in to endow the creature with rational powers separated by a wide gulf from the degree of intelligence previously possessed. But of what use would these powers be if a corresponding rise did not take place on the organic side? And on the terms of the hypothesis, natural evolution has no means within itself to effect that rise. The conclusion we are driven to is, that the production of a higher type of organism—the distinctively human—is the correlative of the creation of the higher type of mind, and a special supernatural act is needed for both."

Applying this analogy to the question of Christ's origin, he continues: "Here, again, we have a creative beginning. On the lowest supposition compatible with Christian faith we have in Christ a perfect human soul—flawless—one standing in such unique relations to God that a perfect Sonship is the result. On the higher ground of faith we have the entrance of a Divine Being into humanity—the Incarnation of the Son. But a perfect soul such as we have in Christ, to go no higher for the present, implies a perfect organism. Moreover, in its place in history such a soul is a moral miracle. It is not to be accounted for out of historical evolution. It transcends the past; is lifted clean above it; is not to be explained by factors already in existence. Whence, then, the organism that clothes it and serves as its perfect medium of expression? Whence this sudden rise from the imperfect to the absolute in humanity, from the impure and sin-tainted to the absolutely pure? This rise, as we saw before, cannot be on the spiritual side alone; it involves the organic as well. There must be a suitable humanity on the physical side to match the perfection of the spirit. . . . The moral miracle from its very nature implies the concurrence of a physical one. This is where Meyer, and all who would make light of the physical miracle, seem to me to err. They recognize a divine act in the Incarnation on its spiritual side, but do not seem to perceive that this 'mystery of godliness' necessitates a special cause operating on the physical side as well. The origin of one like Christ is, view it as we will, a miracle. A new power comes with him into humanity. The words of the annunciation to Mary (Luke 1:35, R. V.) are to this hour the most scientific expression of what we must acknowledge as involved in the birth of the Redeemer."

This is an especially clear, strong article. Modern thought which has so sharply questioned the miraculous gives to it at the same time its strongest defences. The miracle in question has perhaps of all New Testament miracles been that which has given most trouble to men's minds; and yet when it is rightly viewed in its world relations and in its relation to a true conception of the person of Christ, the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are not nearly so great as at first sight they appear to be. The more one considers the miracle in the spiritual realm of Christ's person, the more essentially related to it does the miracle in the physical realm seem. T. H. R.

Notes and Opinions.

The Book of Enoch and the Son of Man.—In *The Expository Times* for August, Rev. R. H. Charles has another article on the term Son of Man, in which he restates and emphasizes points made in his preceding article. He replies to certain criticisms of his theory made by Mr. Bartlet in the June *Expository Times*. In the same number (August) Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., writes a commendatory notice of Mr. Charles' new edition of the Book of Enoch.

T. H. R.

What is the Meaning of the Term, "The Kingdom of God?"—The July *Expository Times* asks: Can you state in a few words what you understand by the expression "The Kingdom of God" as used by our Lord? Answers to this question are given by four different scholars: Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin; Rev. Professor James Orr, D.D., Edinburgh; Rev. Caleb Scott, D.D., Principal of the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester; and by Rev. Professor Alexander Stewart, D.D., Aberdeen.

Dr. Scott calls attention to the fact that whereas the term Kingdom of God was often on the lips of Christ he never once spoke of God as the King of the Kingdom. Dr. Scott writes: "Christ himself is the King of the Kingdom. It pertains to his mediatorial work. He founded it and laid down its laws. Absolute allegiance to him is the one condition of entrance."

The loftier thought of Christ, Dr. Scott goes on to say, is found in the word "Father." "All that the word 'King' suggests, which differentiates it from the word 'Father,' belongs to what is transitory. Nothing that the word 'Father,' rightly interpreted according to its inmost meaning, suggests can ever pass away. . . . Paul spoke of a time when the Mediator shall deliver up the Kingdom to the *Father*."

It may be questioned whether Dr. Scott's views as to who is the King of the Kingdom is just the true one. Dr. Stewart evidently takes it for granted that God is the King. "'The Kingdom of God,' as used by our Lord, signifies the whole sphere in which the will of God, as an ethical power, is recognized and obeyed. It was the reign of righteousness. . . . It has two sides—the intensive, the qualities which distinguish it (*cf.* Matt. 6:33; Luke 17:20, 21; John 3:3); and the extensive, the moral beings whom it includes, and so far as they are under its influence. . . . Perhaps what Jesus means by the 'Kingdom of God' is best seen from the position he gives it in the Lord's Prayer. God's Kingdom begins when his 'name is hallowed' with the turn-

ing of the heart in loyalty and devotion towards him; and is perfected when his 'will is done as in heaven so in earth.'

Dr. Bernard writes: "The Hebrew theocracy had been a 'Kingdom of God' among men, and the expectation of the Kingdom of the Messiah to be established on earth was vivid and universal, as we see not only from passing phrases in the New Testament (*e.g.*, Acts 1:6,) but from the pseudepigraphical literature in which the hopes and fears of the later Jew appear. . . . The Kingdom of Christ on earth was to be the 'fulfilling' of the Jewish theocracy (Matt. 24:43) as in turn it pointed forward to its own consummation in heaven. . . . The equivalent expressions 'Kingdom of God,' 'Kingdom of heaven,' 'my Kingdom,' are always used of the church of Christ (a) on earth (Mark 4:30; Luke 9:27, etc.); or (b) in heaven (Mark 14:25; Luke 13:28, etc.)"

Dr. Orr, whose article is the longest and the fullest, gives perhaps the clearest and most satisfactory conception of what the Kingdom is, and the relation to it both of God and of Christ. "As a final though imperfect attempt at definition, . . . the Kingdom of God is that new, spiritual, invisible order of things introduced into the world by Christ, which is, on the one hand, the reign of God in his Fatherly love and grace in hearts trustfully submitted to him through his Son, and, on the other, the union of those thus saved and blessed for the doing of God's will and the realization of righteousness, which is but another name for the divine supremacy, in all the spheres and departments of their earthly existence, yet with the hope of a higher and fuller existence in eternity, where God shall be truly 'all in all.'" T. H. R.

Christ, the Revealer of Love. (1 John 3:13-18).—In *The Expository Times*, for June the series of valuable short studies by the Rev. Professor Richard Rothe in the first Epistle of John is continued. On the passages, "we know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren," and, "hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us," he comments as follows: "Brotherly love is the appropriate and certain living token of the new birth. John regards man's natural condition as a state of death. He does so for the express reason that it is a state void of love. Thus understood, this assertion of the gospel should be plain even to the man who is not inclined to believe the gospel. Even so-called natural reason must acknowledge that a state in which lack of love reigns cannot be called life, salvation and well-pleasing to God; we cannot deny that man's natural condition is such a state. It is self-evident to one who has an experimental knowledge of love, that wherever love is lacking life also is lacking, and that death reigns in its stead." "John now describes (ver. 16) what kind of brotherly love he means; what he will allow to pass for brotherly love. In the first place, the brotherly love which is active in behalf of one's brethren even to self-sacrifice; the love which we have learned to know in Christ. . . . In the self-sacrifice of Christ for us the full clear thought of love has dawned upon us. The idea of love in all its purity and greatness has

not grown up in the natural heart of man; we owe it to the divine revelation in Christ. It is in truth the loftiest thought that has ever entered into the mind of man. It is in accordance with this standard that we have to measure our love, and not in accordance with the standard of human love, as we are in the habit of doing."

T. H. R.

The Unfinished Teaching of Christ.—This is the title of an article in the July *Expository Times*, by the Rev. Frederic Relton, A.K.C., Chelsea. Concerning the development of Christian doctrine he writes: "Some profess to find the whole Christian system in the sermon on the mount, and to discover incompatibility between the sermon on the mount and the Nicene creed, to say nothing of later doctrinal developments. . . . But to begin with, the sermon on the mount does not contain the whole of Christ's teaching even in outline. And, moreover, Christian theology and doctrine could not be developed until the earthly work of Christ was ended. It is, at least, remarkable that the profoundest theology of the New Testament is not the Pauline, but that of St. John, and is found in the last book of our New Testament—the Gospel of St. John—closely interwoven with the history, which St. John explains from time to time as the story is told. The Lord had indeed much to tell the apostles concerning Christian doctrine, but they could not then hear it or understand it. It was to be gradually taught to them (and to us) as their life and work demanded it, and as their capacity for understanding God's purposes grew and became stronger with exercise and knowledge and increased power."

T. H. R.

The Valley of Blessing.—In an article in *The Expository Times* for July, with the title, Incidents and Emblems, the editor, Rev. James Hastings, M.A., speaks of the peculiar genius which the Hebrew people so markedly possessed for giving appropriate names. He contrasts with them the moderns in this respect. Though perhaps our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had this gift to some extent, yet the English as a nation have lost it. He alludes to the difficulty which the Americans had in giving names in a new, vast country, and quotes the protest of Isaac Taylor in his *Words and Places* (pp. 313, 314): "In every State of the Union we find repeated again and again such unmeaning names as Thebes, Cairo, Memphis, Troy, Rome, Athens, Utica, Big Bethel, and the like. . . . The incongruity between the names and the appearance of some of these places is amusing. Thus Corinth 'consists of a wooden grog-shop and three log shanties; the Acropolis is represented by a grocery store. All that can be seen of the city of Troy is a timber house, three log huts, a saw mill, and twenty negroes.'" But we might say that though the genius of the English race is not that of inventing names, yet it is just that which is represented in this list of names quoted by Mr. Taylor. The names of a people reveal the ideals that are before them, and before the English race as they came to this vast unexplored continent were the high-

est ideals of the old world civilization; its culture and religion. Athens, Rome, Corinth, must be here, say the American pioneers. The actual places with their names often seem incongruous, but they bear witness to what the people as a nation are trying to work out. And it is the very same thing that the name quoted by Mr. Hastings gives witness to, viz.: the ideals of the Hebrew people. They named their places according to their ideals, so that as they came into the new land and developed in their national life, the names of the places are the reflex of their religious history and consciousness. As Mr. Hastings well says: "To every event in their history they gave a name; every locality where an event had taken place they marked by a name that was almost always surprisingly beautiful and appropriate. Well might the historian say, as he does say again and again, 'And it is called so and so unto this day.'"

"And on the fourth day they assembled themselves in the valley of Berachah, for there they blessed the Lord; therefore the name of that place was called The Valley of Berachah unto this day. (2 Chron. 20:26.) . . . The Valley of Blessing was so called not because they sought or found, but because they *gave* the blessing. . . . It is one of the blessed audacities of the Old Testament."

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

DR. RIGGS, of Auburn Theological Seminary, lectured at Chautauqua during the first term on the Gospel and Epistles of John. At the same place President Harper has been delivering a course of lectures on "The Prophecies Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem."

WE note the following from August *Biblia*: Mr. Bliss is now preparing a memoir of his work at Tell el-Hesy, which will be published in the Autumn. After a preliminary chapter, showing how his work fitted into that of Dr. Petrie, and stating the clues by which he determined the various town-levels, he will describe the appearance of each town, beginning with the lowest and most ancient one, together with the objects found. The final chapter will include some account of the camp life with people, Arabs, etc. The book will contain many plates and illustrations.

THE same number of *Biblia* contains an extract from the letter of a correspondent, who writes: "When Miss Amelia B. Edwards died, the newspapers, as a rule, did not do justice to the great woman. Even the '*Academy*' and '*Athenæum*' had shorter articles than were her due. Through the kindness of Mrs. John A. Logan I have received several good articles, but until I read Dr. Winslow's '*The Queen of Egyptology*,' I did not have any ideal biography."

DR. JAMES A. CRAIG, formerly of Lane Theological Seminary, who has been studying in London and Berlin during the past year, has been called to the University of Michigan as Professor of the Semitic Languages. His work in the British Museum has been for the most part on the religious texts of the Assyrians.

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, the eminent Assyriologist of Leipzig, has received a call to Breslau as professor of the Semitic languages, and has forwarded his acceptance. The younger Delitzsch has many friends in America, almost all of the Assyriologists having studied under him. Since 1885, when there were ten Americans studying with Delitzsch, the Leipzig faculty has lost three prominent men—Fleischer, the Arabist, Franz Delitzsch, (both dead), and Friedrich Delitzsch, who goes to Breslau.

THE *Assembly Herald* of July 25 thus speaks of Bible study at Chautauqua: In the work of the first Chautauqua Assembly the study of the Bible was an important factor, indeed, the most important element—the heart of

the Chautauqua idea in its infancy. Through all the changes which have come to Chautauqua, this center of Chautauqua life has not only remained an essential factor, but has continually widened and developed as the years have brought new men, new methods, and new light on old problems. Beginning with a normal class for Sunday-school teachers, the work has grown until it now stands an organized school, holding daily sessions and offering courses of study which appeal to Bible students of every relation of life,—the normal work still continuing by the side of the more comprehensive plan. The Bible school is divided into terms of two weeks each. During the second term the following subjects were presented: The Psalms, Professor Harper; The Epistle to the Romans, Professor Horswell; The Wisdom Books, Professor Burnham; The History and Prophecies of the Babylonian Period, Professor McClenahan; The Historical Study of the Book of Revelation, Mr. Votaw.

THE Lipsius library, purchased by Hartford Seminary, has recently arrived. It was owned by Professor R. A. Lipsius, Professor of Theology at Jena for many years, whose death occurred a year ago. Professor Lipsius was the editor of an annual critique of theological literature and of one of the most influential of the theological quarterlies of Germany. The library consists of about three thousand titles, more than half being in the fields of constructive and controversial Systematic Theology. The *Hartford Seminary Record* for June says of this library: "It is preëminently a library of recent works. In the department of works on the Philosophy of Religion, for instance, more than half of the whole contents has been published within the last ten years. It is composed mostly of German works, but a generous sprinkling of English and American books and magazines shows its reach. Abbott, Allen, Schaff, Stevens, Horton, Hatch, Martineau, are among the many names familiar to English readers which it contains." Over four hundred works relate to the New Testament and a large number treat of the Old Testament.

THE following is from the *Independent*:—The publication of the great catalogue of the books in the British Museum, which, in manuscript form, embraces more than two thousand volumes, and was begun in 1881, has advanced at such a rate that the completion can be looked for about the year 1900. The latest volume, just issued, catalogues the complete Bible editions in the museum, of which there are three thousand, and is a most valuable contribution to biblical bibliography. The catalogues of the separate editions of the Old and the New Testaments, as also of the separate books of the Bible, will be published later. The British Museum has, with the sole exception of the Royal Library at Stuttgart, Würtemberg, the largest collection of Bible editions in the world. The oldest Polyglot Bible in the collection is that of 1514-17, published through the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes of Spain, in Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts. Its copy of the Plantin Polyglot Bible, published in Antwerp, 1569-73, is especially valuable, being the one

which King Philip II., of Spain, presented to the Duke of Alva for having subdued the Protestant Netherlands. Of the seventy-five editions of the Latin Bible published in the fifteenth century, all of which are represented in this collection, the Mazarin Bible of 1452, printed by Gutenberg, is the oldest, and, indeed, is the oldest book published. The museum has three copies of this edition. The oldest English Bible is that of 1535, done by Miles Coverdale but printed on the Continent. An English New Testament was being printed as early as 1525 in Cologne, but on account of the bitter persecution of the Catholics, was suppressed after ten sheets had been printed. The museum has this fragmentary edition joined together with two proclamations of Henry VIII., the *defensor fidei*. The first of these, dated 1530, which, with the threats, forbids the publication of an English translation of the Bible; while the second, of 1541, expressly orders that in each church the Bible shall be read in the vernacular. The total number of editions of the English Bible in the museum is eleven hundred. The first German Bible was published by Johann Mentelin of Strassburg, in 1466. The museum possesses ten editions of that German Bible which appeared before the days of Luther and the Reformation, and even this collection is far from exhaustive, as the recent researches of Pastor Walter have shown. One copy of a German bible of 1541 contains annotations from the hand of Luther; a second, printed in 1558, was the copy used by Duke August of Saxony. The new volume of the catalogue gives editions of the completed Bible in more than ninety languages and dialects. It is noteworthy that no complete edition of the Scriptures exists in Japanese.

THE surveying and map work of the Palestine Exploration Fund is now complete. Its energies in the future will be devoted to excavation. The raised map of Palestine now on exhibition at Chicago is exciting much interest. Concerning it, Professor Theodore F. Wright, Secretary of the Fund for the United States, writes:

"With the production of this contour map the Fund has reached the goal of its work in surveying and mapping the country, and it has done its task in spite of great obstacles with thoroughness and the utmost fidelity." "Probably no piece of ground in the world of the same size so greatly requires to be seen in contour in order to have its features understood. The map is very light but firm, being bordered and braced at the back with wood. It is easily fixed to a wall. The dimensions are seven feet and nine inches by four feet and three inches. The extremely convoluted nature of most of the surface is brought out at once. The depth of the valley is very impressive. It is on the same scale as the twelve-sheet map, three-eighths of an inch to the mile, but extends as far to the North as the twenty-sheet map. I am unable to say just what the cost to Americans will be, but wish to correspond with anyone who desires to obtain this copy or another."

Professor Wright adds also: "The ten quarto volumes of the Eastern

and Western survey and a full set of the statements are here and will not be sent back if a purchaser can be found in this country. This opportunity is of course the first and the last of its kind." The exhibit is in the Manufactures Building, southwest gallery, British section, B, 40.

VERY important excavations have recently been begun at the temple of Deir El-Bahari at Thebes by the distinguished Egyptologist, Edouard Naville, working under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. *Biblia* for August publishes an interesting article by Miss Kate Bradbury, written for the Manchester (Eng.) *Examiner*, on the work of the Fund, especially at Deir El-Bahari. We quote the following from this article: "The Egypt Exploration Fund carries on its work by permission and grace of the 'Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte.' Until a few months ago the sites placed at its disposal were all in the Delta, where excavations are not only costly but to a certain extent full of disappointment for the explorer, who finds that the all-pervading mud of the inundations has left him little beyond stone and pottery to recover. Papyri must have been carbonized to survive the damp of the Delta. In that case, they may now be saved as a layer of tinder which a rude breath would scatter, and yet be decipherable if carefully transmitted into the hands of patient skill and scholarship—if so be that the ink of their writings is not vegetable. So it fell out with the papyri of Tanis, recovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie. Two of them have already been reproduced and translated. . . . Both papyri are of great scientific value." Comparing the Delta with Upper Egypt, she writes: "The rocks and sands of Upper Egypt are dry and conservative, and the working season is not there limited by the inundation, but only by the heat. It is therefore far easier and more profitable for the archaeological excavator to work there than in the Delta, and the Egypt Exploration Fund has reason to congratulate itself that Monsieur de Morgan, the new director of the Ghizeh Museum, has accorded it a site in Upper Egypt, and the excavation of the great Theban temple of Deir el-Bahari, a temple which is architecturally and artistically unique. The work will be one of years, and the society is fully sensible of the responsibility to the world which this trust entails upon it." The following is a brief description of the temple itself, and of previous excavations there: "The temple of Deir el-Bahari is chiefly connected with the times of the powerful XVIII. Dynasty (circa B.C. 1700). It stands in a natural amphitheatre of golden limestone rock, and is built—on an axis of 150 feet—in four successive terraces rising towards the west and into the hill. Its modern name of Deir el-Bahari, or the 'Convent of the North,' was received because a Coptic monastery was constructed on and of the ruins of the heathen temple by early Christians of the Thebaid. Apart from their own interests, the walls, ruins, and traces of that convent have to be reckoned with in the new excavations, since the Christian Egyptians duly followed the time-honored plan of using ancient sculptures and inscriptions for new building material. Mariette exca-

vated the length of the temple on its southern side, piling his rubbish on the northern side of the terraces, and laying bare the beautiful and detailed inscribed sculptures which set forth the history of Queen Hatshepsu's expedition to the Land of Punt, as in a gigantic illustrated book of travel. The scientific value and interest of this pictorial record is as great as its artistic charm. Mariette's rubbish requires thorough sifting before it is finally dismissed, for in his haste to uncover the temple he cast aside from its context much historical evidence whose worth was then unappreciated. At that time it was not recognized as an axiom in working out the results of archæological excavations that the commonest things, such as potsherds, are found to yield the best chronological data to the omniscient archæologist."

IN another article, published likewise in the August *Biblia*, Monsieur Naville himself gives an account of his work at Deir el-Bahari. He precedes this with a short statement of Mariette's discoveries. "Mariette first excavated the temple. Following the central avenue which leads to the sanctuary, he cleared a great part of the southern side, throwing over on the northern side all the rubbish which he could not get rid of. The most important part of his discoveries consisted of the supporting wall of the upper terrace, with sculptures depicting a naval expedition to the land of Punt; the rock-cut sanctuary of the goddess Hathor, where the goddess is seen in the form of a cow, suckling the young queen, Hatshepsu, Hatasu as she is incorrectly called, and the great hall of offerings. On the northern side, Mariette, and after him M. Maspero, dug out part of the portico at the foot of the upper terrace, and a small sanctuary corresponding to that of Hathor, which was found full of mummies of recent date."

M. Naville has cleared completely the northern half of the upper terrace. Among his own discoveries are :

(a) A long hall, with well preserved sculptures of gigantic proportions, showing Hatasu and Thothmes III. making offerings to Amon.

(b) An open court, next to this, limited on the north by the mountain, on the east by the remains of a chamber with columns.

(c) Opening from this court, a small rock-cut chapel, the funeral chapel of Thothmes I. The ceiling, well painted in blue with yellow stars, is an Egyptian arch. . . . The king is seen there with two different queens; one of them, Ahmes, is well known; the other one, Seuseneb, so far as M. Naville knows, has not yet been met with.

(d) A great square altar in limestone, to which access is given by a flight of steps. This is just before the door of the chapel. The inscription says that a royal person—evidently Queen Hatasu, though her name is hammered out—"built a large altar in white stone to her father, Ra Harmakis;" meaning, perhaps, her deified father, Thothmes I. The altar is a platform, sixteen by thirteen feet and five feet high, with ten steps leading up to it. It had a low parapet like the terraces, in order to prevent the offerings from falling

into the court, and probably there was a smaller altar in hard stone placed on the top. It is the only altar of this kind known in Egypt.

(e) One of the sides of a large shrine of ebony, more than six feet high, erected by Thothmes II. "Ebony never being found in large pieces, the whole panel is made of small fragments, held together by ebony pegs, which have been used with the greatest skill as part of the sculpture. This shrine was erected by Thothmes II., who says in the inscription that it was made of ebony 'from the top of the mountains' in honor of his father, Amon. But everywhere the figure of Amon has been cut out with a knife, evidently by the heretical kings. . . . It was a very difficult and delicate task to lift out the panel and to pack it without running the risk of seeing the whole thing fall to pieces, as ebony is very heavy wood. . . . It is now on its way to the Ghizeh Museum, where it will have to be repaired by a skilled cabinet-maker before being exhibited."

(f) Fragments of a sculpture representing the transportation of obelisks and other heavy monuments. "The Copts, who built their convent over the temple, have practised the most ruthless destruction among the very beautiful sculptures which adorned it. They have scattered all over the building parts of a most interesting stone which, I believe, belonged to the lowest terrace. Some of its fragments are built into walls, others have been used as thresholds or stairs, others piled together with capitals and bricks in the clumsy partitions which they raised between the rooms of the convent. I carefully gathered and stored all the blocks I found belonging to that series which represented the transportation of obelisks and other heavy monuments. The most interesting of these blocks shows an obelisk lying on a high boat, where it has been placed by means of a sort of sledge, on which it still rests. The high boat is towed by a small one rowed by several men. Unfortunately, the block is small; we see only the top of the obelisk, but we may hope next Winter to find the remaining parts. It is the first time anything has been discovered relating to the transportation of obelisks."

(g) A very curious inscription concerning the birth of Hatasu and her accession to the throne. It is on the supporting wall of the upper terrace. We see the god Anubis rolling an enormous egg, and goddesses suckling the young queen; further, we come to her enthronement by her father. Thothmes I. is seen in a shrine, stretching forth his hands towards a young man, who is the queen. The young man is hammered out, but still discernable, as well as the long inscription which accompanies the picture and which relates how Thothmes called together the grandees of his kingdom, and ordered them to obey his daughter. There is an obscure allusion to his death, and a description of the rejoicing when she ascended the throne."

M. Naville concludes as follows: "This short summary shows how rich a place is Deir el-Bahari, and how much we may expect from further excavations, which I hope will be resumed in the autumn. I must add that in the rubbish I found a great many Coptic letters written on potsherds or on pieces

of limestone. They contain the correspondence between certain monks called Victor, John, Abraham, Zacharia, etc. They usually begin with a salutation, and sometimes with the formula: 'In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' These letters have all been sent to Europe, and are the property of the Fund."

ACCORDING to the report of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle there are now 1,400 circles, 500 having been organized the past year. The class of '96, which was organized last year with 300 members, has increased to more than 1,000. Upward of 2,000 members are pursuing the advanced course.

Book Reviews.

Survivals in Christianity. Studies in the Theology of the Divine Immanence. Special Lectures delivered before the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., in 1892. By CHARLES JAMES WOOD. New York: Macmillan and Co. 1893 Pp. 317.

The Foregleams of Christianity. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT. Revised and Enlarged Edition. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1893. Imported by Macmillan and Co. Pp. viii. 223.

A peculiar interest attaches to these two books by reason of their appeal to a wider circle than the company of professional scholars on behalf of a body of facts and a method of investigation which are bound to obtain a prominent place in theological study. The facts are the doctrines and practices of religious systems other than Christianity, and the method is that of comparing these facts with those of Christianity.

It is not necessary, if it were possible, to prophesy the result of such an investigation as these books suggest and endeavor to forward. Their contribution to it affords instructive material bearing upon the point enough to occupy more space than could be allowed to this notice. Both writers have their aims clearly defined at the start. Each has his prepossessions. The author of "Survivals in Christianity" holds that Christianity is uniquely original in its primitive doctrines and ideas, but that outside accretions from non-Christian sources, folk-faith, and "pagan" systems, have contaminated some of its fundamental teachings as these have been enunciated and expounded through the ages by Christian teachers. His plan is to determine the precise teaching of the New Testament on various essential points, to compare it with the results of popular non-Christian belief or systems of doctrine on the same points to show how far later Christian teaching has departed from the original standards and finally thus to enable modern Christianity to get rid of these "pagan survivals" and return to the doctrine of Jesus and the Apostles.

The purpose of Mr. Scott is to show that the elements of truth in the pre-Christian religions and philosophies can be harmonized only by Christianity; that the more exalted these were in morals, the more faulty were their metaphysics; that God manifests his presence in the succession of religious developments preparing the way for Christianity. The two books take quite a different attitude toward non-Christian systems, the one regarding Christianity

as having suffered from the contact with "pagan" faiths, the other finding "pagan" faiths summed up and satisfied in Christianity. Now each of these views has truth, but neither has the whole truth. The books, therefore, supplement and correct each other. Christianity does satisfy the religious want to which each of these old religions corresponded, does embody in a higher and purer way the truth for which they stood. They take their place in its larger temple and are at home there. At the same time they have brought with them customs, practices, ideas, forms of expressions, which are not quite consistent with the higher elements of the faith which has received them. They have imposed modes of thought whose results have been retrogressive instead of progressive. It is wise and salutary that these be sought out carefully and clearly revealed. Mr. Wood's method and contribution to this end are praiseworthy, his method much more than his contribution of positive thinking.

The weakness of his book lies in the presupposition already mentioned which lies at its root. It overestimates the originality of Christianity. There is no place for the gathering up of the past into the Christian system. The "evolution of religion" has, according to this view, no relation to the Christian origins. Christianity starts into being from no prepared soil with no antecedents. This conception of Christianity is quite out of date and cannot stand before the facts. Does not this notion run the risk of impugning the justice of the Divine method of dealing with the race? Everything "pagan" is false. Old faiths got nothing right, but all awry. Mr. Wood has also yielded to the temptation, incident to his method, of finding in the New Testament a Christianity which is in accordance with his ideas of what it ought to be. With that touchstone much appears to be "pagan survival" which another thinker would regard as the essence of the Gospel. The question at issue, underlying all, is the source of the Christian doctrines themselves, whence they came, how were they wrought out, on what they depend.

Both works, that of Mr. Scott especially, are injured by dependence upon untrustworthy sources of facts concerning other religions and by unwarranted inferences concerning their ideas and teachings. There is not space here to point out specific instances to substantiate this statement, but it would be easily possible. Indeed, when one considers what an amount of reading, what a command of facts is demanded before one is competent to pronounce an opinion upon these complex questions, the wonder is that both writers have made so few slips. The subject which they discuss is not yet ripe for discussion. The field has not yet been covered. The facts are not yet all in. One can not but feel that the labor which has been bestowed is not rewarded by the results achieved. These writers are pioneers. They must suffer the fate of most pioneers. They are also entitled to their rewards and the esteem due to such endeavor. They have their eyes on the right goal, even though they may make many false steps and at last may fail to reach it.

It is worth while for intelligent clergymen to read these volumes that they

may know what is the direction which the new and fruitful work in theology is to take. If they can gain from these books some stimulus to undertake similar studies, they will be rewarded. The impulse gained would be most wisely directed if it should lead them, not to the investigation of the wide field of many religions, but to the mastery of one. To be able thoroughly to know one other religion than Christianity, so as to make one's comparisons really sound and stable, is immensely to widen one's knowledge of religious truth and powerfully to strengthen one's grasp on the eternal verities of the Gospel of God.

G. S. G.

The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded. By MILTON S. TERRY, S.T.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Garrett Biblical Institute. New York : Hunt & Eaton. Pp. 1-136. Price \$1.00.

Professor Terry believes that the mass of what has been written upon the Book of Daniel in the form of commentary, is based upon unsound methods of interpretation. He feels that, in the opinion of many English expounders, the great vision of Daniel was to foretell the rise and fall of the Roman Papacy. He is inclined to think that if this idea of theirs is to be objected to they would scarcely be willing to give the book a place in the canon. Professor Terry is likewise opposed to the assumption that the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John were intended to contain a prophetic syllabus of European politics. The professor does not commit himself on the question of the date and authorship, but maintains that whatever may be the results of scientific criticism, the apocalyptic chapters constitute a very original and important body of divine revelation. We are to infer from the preface that if criticism should prove that the book was written during the times of the Maccabees, the real purpose and influence of the book would not be disturbed. The chief purpose of the treatment seems to be to advocate that view of the four great kingdoms which has been lost sight of by English readers. He opposes very strongly the opinion that the fourth kingdom is the Roman Empire, maintaining that the four kingdoms are the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian and the Grecian. A short but well selected bibliography precedes the introduction.

Omitting the other portions of Daniel, he discusses (1) Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream (2:31-45); (2) The vision of the four empires and the judgment (chapter 4); (3) The vision of the ram and the goat (chapter 7); (4) The seventy weeks (chapter 9:24-27); (5) The broken and divided kingdom, and the end (chapter 11:2 to chapter 12:3). The explanation adopted of the use of the two languages in the book, the Aramaic as well as the Hebrew, suggests that the Aramaic section is not the original text of Daniel but an ancient Targum or Paraphrase which has been substituted for it. There is no question that the professor has adopted the correct view of the four empires, and in a popular way he presents the arguments for and against. One of the strangest facts of modern belief, or perhaps it would

better be called modern credulity, is the almost universal acceptance given by those who read the Bible to a theory concerning these empires which introduces the Pope and the Romish church. This theory does violence not only to the text of Scripture but also to the most fundamental principles of prophetic work.

We must confess that the professor's discussion of the Median empire is unsatisfactory. We had hoped that here he might have made a contribution which would have taken away all difficulty. Without doubt there was little ground for such hope. It matters not what the records of history outside the Bible may go to show, the writer of the Book of Daniel evidently believed that there lived a Darius, the Median, and that he immediately succeeded the Babylonian period. The argument in favor of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the person to whom reference is made in chapter 11:21-45, is convincing. It is not possible to enter into detail, but it is sufficient to say that the treatment is based upon sound principles, and announces results which may now be called conclusive.

W. R. H.

The Old Testament in the Jewish Church : A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism. By W. ROBERTSON SMITH. Second Edition, revised and much enlarged. New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1892. Pp. xiv and 458.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1881 as a course of lectures which had been delivered on progressive biblical science before audiences in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The onward march of critical investigation, the application of larger principles, and new and larger results called for a revision and enlargement of the original publication. Prof. Smith has been among the most diligent writers and publishers on this line since his first announcement. His editorial management of the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica also demanded of him as contributor a large amount of valuable service in biblical lines. This new edition is partly rewritten and contains about one-third more matter than its predecessor.

Lecture V, which treats of the historical books, has received large additions, and the treatment of the canon is confined to Lecture VI. In Lecture V we note especially the so-called discrepant narratives in Judges 4 and 5, the taking of Ai, the history of Saul, and those in Kings and Chronicles. To the discussion of the Psalter there are some additional points, called out in part by the work of Prof. Cheyne. Our author refuses to accompany the Oxford sage in letting down nearly the entire Psalter to Post-exilic times. He characterizes some of his views as entirely fanciful ; and would make Psalm 45, for example, a poem of the old kingdom. These much more reasonable and credible views will win the favor of students long before the Cheyne hypotheses.

Lecture XIII is supplementary on the Hexateuchal question and traces the documents as they have been critically and microscopically detected in the narrative. "The Jahvist and Elohist together are responsible for the

great mass of the patriarchal history, and for all of those stories that make Genesis one of the most delightful of books. What remains for the priestly writer is meagre enough ; the continuous thread of his narrative is no more than a string of names, dates, and other dry bones of history, mainly in systematic form under the standard heading : 'These are the generations of'" (p. 417). "The supposed Mosaic ordinances, and the narratives that go with them, are unknown to the history and the prophets before Ezra ; they are unknown to the Deuteronomic writers, and they are unknown to the non-priestly parts of the Pentateuch, which Deuteronomy presupposes. And from this it follows with certainty that the priestly recasting of the origins of Israel is not history, but haggada ; solely for the purpose of legal and ethical instruction" (p. 420). In the middle books of the Pentateuch the analysis becomes more difficult ; in some passages it is even next to impossible to separate the constituent elements. There are, however, sufficient indications of dual authorship to satisfy the critic that all through the Hexateuch the old history consists of a two-fold thread (p. 424). The time and manner of the fusion of these documents was late, just about the time of the exile.

These are just a hint at the contents of this full book. It displays prodigious research and work, and follows well in the line of the great leaders in biblical criticism. It is more moderate, however, than Kuenen and Wellhausen, in that an attempt is made to preserve inspiration and the supernatural. This labored strife often leads to statements of questionable conclusiveness and methods of more than doubtful logic. To assume a fact (p. 226, etc.), and then build on it as settled, and thereupon make dogmatic statements and formulate indisputable conclusions, are not the most successful methods of convincing the thinking man (cf. p. 61 note ; cf. p. 73 with 62 ; p. 108 with 106). In following through Prof. Smith's hypotheses and arguments one is constantly asking, "How is that known?" (pp. 45, 46, 65, 92) "What is your authority for that?" "Is not that explaining away things, a process which you say has no place in biblical interpretation?" (cf. pp. 132-148 with p. 421). "What is the use of all the time apologizing for treating the Scriptures as any other book?" (pp. 18 seq., 233 seq.). It must be perfectly apparent to every reader that the work abounds with good suggestions and valuable hints for critical study, but the *a priori* method of settling difficulties, of analyzing narratives, contains in it too many elements of pure conjecture and too few certified and proven facts. The work is a valuable exponent of the present critical status of Old Testament research, and stands in the forefront of those ranks.

PRICE.

Early Bibles in America. By REV. JOHN WRIGHT, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, St. Paul, Minnesota. New York : Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House. Pp. 1-171. Price \$1.50.

In the title of this book, the word "America" is used in a restricted sense, the treatment including only those Bibles that were printed during the exist-

ence of the British American colonies and others that appeared after the colonies became the United States. The accounts given are biographic as well as bibliographic.

Beginning with the Eliot Bible, prepared for the Indians (1654-1661), he takes up in succession the Saur Bible, printed at Germantown (1743), the Aitken Bible, printed in Philadelphia (1792), the first Douay Version, printed in 1790, the Thomas Bible (1791), the Collins Bible (1791), the first translation of the Septuagint (1808), the first translation of the Peshito, Syriac version (1851). Chapters are given also to (1) Curious versions, (2) Early Editions of the Greek Testament, (3) Various editions.

In the appendices we have the dedication of the Eliot New Testament (1661), the dedication in the Eliot Bible of 1663, the list of owners of Eliot New Testaments and Bibles, the prices paid for Eliot New Testaments and Bibles, the list of owners of the Saur Bibles, list of owners of the Aitken Bibles; the title pages of these various Bibles are given in fac simile. Certainly no one interested in the history of the transmission of the Bible will fail to acquaint himself with the facts contained in this brief but accurate treatment.

W. R. H.

The Gospel of Paul. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Professor of Theology in Harvard University, and Dean of the Harvard Divinity School. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Pp. xiii and 307. Price, \$1.50.

A new interpretation is here proposed of Paul's teaching on atonement. The traditional view rests upon an erroneous theory of sacrifice and an assumed authority of the church. A reexamination of the meaning of sacrifice finds nothing like the substitution of the victim for the offence as the bearer of penalty, either in the general forms of sacrifice or in the Hebrew. The church confessedly knew nothing of the vicarious suffering of penalty till the time of Anselm, 1000 A. D., and the traditional view was elaborated still later. The discussion by the theologians has been based thus far on theoretical considerations and not on what Paul actually said. On the assumption that abstract and figurative statements are to be explained by the more concrete and definite, the key to the discussion is found in Gal. 3:13. The curse which Christ bore for men was the ceremonial pollution which fell upon him as one crucified. Association with him through faith similarly pollutes the believer. Christ and his followers are thus made outcasts by the application to them of the law itself. The immediate effect of this, according to Gal. 2:19 and 20, is that the Christian is freed from the law, "dead to it." He is as one excommunicated, Heb. 13:10-13. The secondary effect of this pollution is that sins against the law and the condemnation for them also pass away, as suggested in Col. 2:13-14. The apostle resolutely becomes an exile with Christ from Judaism; and then discovers to his surprise and delight that he has entered into a new life of liberty. The Gentiles share

the benefits of this abrogation of the law by the breaking down of the limitations, Eph. 2:11-20, under which they had rested in reference to the promises made to Abraham. For both Jew and Gentile the past is no more. They start afresh from the death of Christ on the cross, equally ready for the new life.

These more definite statements enable one to interpret the figurative and sacrificial language. Thus 2 Cor. 5:21 teaches that Christ was not made a sinner, nor put in place of a sinner, but made "sin" and a "curse" because the law pronounced the crucified to be accursed. In this light Rom. 3:24-26 declares that God shows his righteousness, *i. e.*, his respect for law, by making the law itself the instrument of its own annulment. By the crucifixion and pollution of Christ, he and his followers are justified from the law by becoming outcasts from it; and the "passing over of sins done aforetime" is a forgiving of sins because the law is blotted out for the Christian and taken away. With this agree the prominence which Paul gives to the resurrection of Jesus as in itself a triumph, and the teachings concerning atonement of James, Peter and the Revelation. The new explanation also fits in perfectly with Paul's philosophy of history, and puts the doctrine of atonement in its true place, as only the beginning of the gospel. To the thought of Paul no one was made free from the law through Christ who did not stand to him in such an intimate relation of faith that he shared with him the legal pollution of his crucifixion. And the issue of this intimate relation could be no other than the highest life of Christian love and inspiration, which was what Paul was aiming at in all his teaching and preaching.

No synopsis can justly present this remarkable and altogether ingenious book. It would be easy to denounce it simply as novel and hostile to the accepted belief concerning the atonement. It might be set aside, out of hand, as built upon slight foundations or as having too much the air of a special plea. It might even be truthful to say that on a first reading the solution seems too simple and perfect, if not too artificial. But the book is nevertheless a serious attempt to expound the teaching of Paul after a really scientific manner. As such, it deserves respect. It is a challenge as well, attacking the traditional view in its assumptions and in its exegesis. As such, it demands careful consideration and an answer on its own grounds. It further presents an unusual view of the meaning of the cross of Christ. As such, it is of great value to all who seek fresh visions of that many-sided and central fact in Christianity, the vividness of which is constantly obscured by the common formulas of religious speech.

The answers to this argument, if there are any, must be along three lines. (1) One must challenge the primary assertion of the book, that the ancient idea of sacrifice had little or no place for the substitutionary bearing of penalty. Tylor himself, whom the author quotes, declares that sacrifice among the Hebrews appears "with the higher significance of devout homage or expiation for sin." If it can be shown that the sacrificial language does

on occasion bear this interpretation, it may be altogether right for the ordinary reader to accept that first meaning of the New Testament statements, which still press so hard upon our author, even after his effort to banish it from his mind. (2) The objector must show that the exegesis of particular texts is faulty, either by itself or in relation to the larger view of the New Testament teachings. Thus it is pertinent to inquire how, if "Judaism had no place for the Christians, for they were polluted by the cross of their leader," the Jewish Christians could under any conditions accept the crucified Jesus as their Messiah. It may also be seriously questioned whether in this emphasis laid upon the language of Gal. 2:13 the incidental is not given the place that belongs to the fundamental and the boldly figurative put in the place of the soberly literal. (3) Answer may also be made by showing that the author does not apprehend the ethical significance of the idea of substitution. He puts tersely the commercial form, which he rightly says is being rejected by the moral sense of modern theologians. But to admit that this caricature of the atonement is not the Pauline doctrine is not to declare that there is no thought of vicarious suffering in his doctrine. The sacrificial language may have a deeper meaning than our author discovers. The death of Christ may have a larger Godward side than is here allowed. Even though the Galatian passages may be interpreted as is here proposed, Paul is not always dealing with Judaizers. His argument is not always pure dialectic. In his philosophy of salvation by faith in Christ there may be a place for that doctrine of Christ's penal or vice-penal death, which has gained its hold upon Christian theology, not because of churchly authority, but because it has seemed to correspond to the real needs of sin-cursed human nature.

This book, accepted or answered, is a positive and welcome contribution to the rapidly multiplying aids to the study of Paul's contributions to Christianity. It may be put beside the works of Pfleiderer, Sabatier and Stevens, as equally scientific in spirit, reverent in tone, scholarly in execution, and stimulating in style and thought. No student can afford to ignore it. So far as it be the true statement he will be enriched by it. So far as it is faulty, he must bring knowledge and critical acumen to detect its flaws and defend his own positions against its attacks.

J. R. G.

The Pentateuch Translated and Explained. By SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH, Rabbi of the Israelitish Religious Society of Frankfort on the Main. First Part: Genesis.

This handsome volume, which contains the Hebrew text as well as a German translation and commentary, is a good specimen of modern Jewish exegesis of the narrower kind. Although by no means free from individual eccentricities it bears testimony on almost every page to the continued domination in some Jewish circles of ancient prejudices and traditional methods. The "wise men" of the Talmud and the Midrash are still

regarded there with respect which borders on veneration. Before the reader has finished perusing the second page, he finds the old Rabbinic saying, that "the world was created by the merits of Israel, by the merits of Moses, and by the merits of the challah, the tithe and the first fruits," cited with warm approval. The superstitious avoidance of the words Elohim and Jahveh, so characteristic of later Judaism, is prominent throughout. The former of these two sacred names is usually written with Daleth or Koph instead of He; and the latter is uniformly translated "God." The tetragrammaton seems to be as awful to this rabbi of the nineteenth century as to his ancestors in the schools of Galilee and Babylonia. Its meaning is discussed and its pronunciation is mentioned, but it is never transliterated. These two divine names, Jahveh and Elohim, are distinguished in the translation only by the employment of different type. Another characteristic which our author has in common with his forefathers is profound indifference to Gentile culture. Modern criticism on the Pentateuch is ignored. The discoveries of Assyriologists and Egyptologists are assumed to have no interest for those to whom the book appeals. Without a syllable of introduction Rabbi Hirsch sets about his task of translating and expounding the Pentateuch; and he prosecutes it with a calm disregard of current theories and conflicting opinions, which reminds us of the apparent insensibility of the ancient synagogue, as represented in the Mishnah, to the spread of Christianity. His renderings are sometimes original, but again and again an odd version of a phrase is found on examination to be in some way connected with the teaching of the fathers. When, for instance, Adam and Eve are said to have heard the voice of God "withdrawing itself in the garden at the side of the day," which is explained to mean "towards the West" (Gen. 3:8); when Esau is represented as "a hunter with his mouth" (Gen. 25:28); when "Shaddai" is rendered "the All-Sufficient" (Gen. 28:3); and when the last clause in the famous prophecy about Shiloh is translated "to him shall the weak old age of the peoples belong" (Gen. 49:10), we have in each case a reminiscence of the Targum or the Midrash. The Messianic prophecies of which this last passage reminds us are treated very curiously. The earliest, the Protevangelium, as it is often called by Christian writers (Gen. 3:15), is interpreted allegorically. The serpent is said to stand for the animal element in human nature. The text declares that this animal side is in God's purpose subordinate. "Man has received more power over it than it has received over him." The Messianic reference which is admitted in two of the Targums is ignored. The great promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:3) is also discussed without any reference to the Messiah. On the other hand, Jacob's blessing of Judah, in the treatment of a clause which has been already mentioned, is recognized as pointing on to Messianic times. He who is seen by the patriarch binding his foal to the vine and the young of his she-ass to the choice vine is the Messiah. The elaborate exposition of this prophecy shows that our author is a follower of those ancient Jews who pictured the Messianic era as one of

extraordinary fertility and material blessing, rather than of the cold-blooded rabbi who said that its only distinctive characteristic would be the removal of Gentile supremacy. It is also evident that Rabbi Hirsch expects Israel some day to rule the world. Time will be when worn out humanity will submit to the beneficent sway of the regenerated Judah as represented by the Messiah. Some of the etymologies proposed in the commentary are very odd. "Shiloh" is connected with "shul," the skirt of a garment, and means in this prophecy "the extreme end," the last and apparently dying offshoot of the tribe of Judah. The word for "Flood" (mabul) is derived from "navayl" "which is said to signify the disappearance of the vital forces in the organic, animal, or moral world." It is therefore rendered not "flood" but "deprivation of life" (Entseelung). In spite however of these peculiarities and of the proud exclusive Jewish spirit which pervades the work, it well deserves the attention of Christian students. It represents much patient toil, and abounds in quaint remarks and shrewd hints which may be turned to good account by teachers and preachers.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Current Literature.

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The University of Chicago.

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CONTINUING

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RECENTLY the question of an Old Testament History was discussed in these pages. It was indicated that before such a history could be worked out, it would first be necessary to present separately a treatment of the three great elements which compose the Old Testament, namely, the Prophetic, the Legal and the Wisdom elements.

Of these three the Prophetic evidently stands first because it constitutes the largest part of the divine revelation recorded in the Old Testament. Open the page where we will, prophecy presents itself even in those divisions where it would be least expected. The Legal element is everywhere covered with the dress of prophecy. The Prophetic material of Genesis leads up to legislation. The Book of Deuteronomy itself not only has a prophetic setting, but breathes throughout the prophetic spirit. The Psalter is not usually regarded as Prophetic, but is it not a fact that the best Psalms, those most frequently read and those which when read are most helpful, are prophetic even in the narrowest sense of the term? Are the sufferings of the ideal one more clearly depicted elsewhere than in the twenty-second, or the victories and triumphs of the ideal king more definitely presented than in the seventy-second and one hundred and tenth Psalms? Least of all would one expect the prophetic element in the Book of Job, and yet this book furnishes us a prophetic character,—Eliphaz the Temanite, who himself tells us:

" Now a thing was secretly brought to me,
And mine ear received a whisper thereof.
In thoughts from the visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth on men,
Fear came upon me and trembling,
Which made all my bones to shake.
Then a wind passed before my face ;
The hair of my flesh stood up.
It stood still, but I could not discern the appearance thereof ;
A form was before mine eyes,
I heard a still voice :
" Shall mortal man be just before God ?
Shall man be pure before his maker ? " "

The Priestly element with its law and ceremonial ; the Wisdom element with its philosophical inquiry into the problems which trouble the observing mind, are very distinct from the Prophetic, but both are small in comparison with the Prophetic.

THE PROPHETIC portion of Scripture of all portions comes into closest connection with the life and heart of our humanity. What do men in general care for the abrogated Levitical system ? It is interesting if viewed from the archæological point of view. It is important as showing God's method of dealing with the infant church. But where, the question is continually raised, does it touch us to-day ? How many, after all, in time of affliction go to the Book of Job for comfort, or in time of despondency and doubt seek help from the experience of Koheleth ? The whole world has produced no such book as that of Job ; and in all literature there is no truer, no more pathetic record of the experience of a storm-tossed soul than that contained in the Book of Ecclesiastes ; and yet, both seem far removed from us.

The stories of Scripture, one remarks, have moved and interested men of every age and of every kind of life. These stories find entrance to the heart and appeal to it at a time when the mind is capable of receiving nothing else ; they remain in it and cling to it long after all else is forgotten. Have not the Scripture stories come closer to man, and have they not done more for man than any other literature, sacred or profane ? This is true ;

but the fact is that the Scripture stories are in the strictest sense of the term prophecy. And so of the prophetic portions of our Scriptures it may be said, that they are bound up more than any other with our lives; they strike us at more points, and make revelation seem more precious.

IT IS still further true that the prophetic portions of Scripture most clearly show us God. This every one will grant. God is seen, to be sure, in the types and shadows of the Levitical system; he appears in Wisdom literature, silencing Job out of the thunder-storm; but do not our best ideas, our clearest conceptions of him come, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, from the study of the consecrated lives of his prophets; from the great moral truths which they taught; from the principles which seem to underlie their work; from the distinct and definite revelations of his attributes which they make? Imagine for a moment the Old Testament with the prophetic element omitted. What a void in our understanding of God's character and providential dealings, even with the New Testament in our hands! If we would know and understand God, his methods, his love, his holiness, his attitude toward the righteous and the wicked, his treatment of individuals and of nations, we must take great care not to neglect in this study the prophetic element, for here God may be seen most clearly.

IN ANY study or in any presentation of the prophetic element, it must be remembered that the word "prophecy" is used in its broadest sense. Perhaps no better definition of it has been given than that it is "the declaration of the illustration of the principles of divine government." These principles had been revealed to men called prophets; men whose function it was to speak *for* God. In declaring the great and eternal principles which had been committed to them, the illustrative method was adopted. Material from the past is gathered together, emphasis being placed upon that part of the material which most definitely teaches the principles it was desired to inculcate. The prophetic

element includes therefore the great field of historiography, and the history of the Old Testament found in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings may be understood only when one reads these books as prophetic histories; that is, histories written to teach religious truths; histories, therefore, made up of that particular kind of material, and put together in that particular form, which would best accomplish this purpose.

From the immediate surroundings of the prophet, illustrations were continually presenting themselves. His own life was in itself a great religious lesson. Events of individual and of national importance lent themselves readily to his use as rapidly as they took place, in the prophetic life and in the methods adopted by the prophets for the presentation of truth. All this constitutes another division of what may be called the prophetic element. It is in this connection also that one must consider prophetic politics and prophetic social science. The prophets were in nearly every instance politicians. The state was from every point of view the kingdom of God, and this was their chief concern. The relation of the state to foreign countries, its internal relations, the succession of dynasties, the integrity of those who held office—all this stood most closely connected with the direct work of the preacher. Shall Israel remain dependent upon Assyria, or join with Egypt on equal terms? Shall this dynasty continue, or shall a new king be placed on the throne? Shall the state surrender, or continue to oppose the invading host? The prophets were always ready to answer these questions and to take the responsibility connected with the answer. The history of Israel and Judah might almost be said to be the history of prophetic politics. But the prophet was also concerned for the widow and the fatherless; for the poor and oppressed. There would seem to be no modern question of social science which was not suggested to him. In his day there were monopolies and he finds it necessary to speak of them. In his day the dependent classes were ill-treated by the wealthy. This, too, receives his attention. In his mind there was always the picture of that time ahead when all men should be at peace. The prophets were close observers and their observations must

be taken into account in any effort of modern times to settle the problems called social problems. The influence of their work is seen to-day in the ideas which are embodied in the minds of those who have descended from Israel of old.

WE ARE accustomed to look to wisdom literature for the philosophy of the Old Testament. The sages were realists; humanists. The true philosophy of the Old Testament will be found in the idealism of the prophets. Their philosophy was a theology, and in their theology the most important doctrine was the immanence of God, a doctrine which to-day is taught by science. All this shows, though imperfectly, how much must be included in the prophetic element. Nor is this all. There is the study and the presentation of these great ideas from the small beginnings in Israel's earliest history down through the centuries to the time when all prophecy was fulfilled in the coming of the great prophet. And to this we must add the interpretation of the past and of the present by the inspired writers of the New Testament. When one begins to realize the magnitude and the significance of the prophetic element in Scripture, it becomes more clear that before any satisfactory treatment of Old Testament history can be made, this division of the subject must have long and careful attention.

THE APOSTLE PAUL'S MYSTICISM.

By PROFESSOR EDWARD Y. HINCKS, D.D.,
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S. Paul teaches that men who believe the gospel and are baptized come thus into a spiritual union with Christ. This union, as belonging to another than the earthly order, and as known only through revelation, is called by the church "mystic." It implies a community of spiritual life between Christ and his disciples. He lives in them. The motives which chiefly govern them are supplied, and their characters are fashioned, by the Spirit, who is his Spirit, or, from another point of view, Christ himself. They view the things of God through his eyes, as it were. In short, that which makes them what they essentially are, is the fact that they are in this most intimate relation to their Master, or, to use the phrase constantly employed by the apostle, "in Christ."

Paul views this relationship as having, if I may use the expression, an outer as well as an inner side. He regards it as determining man's place in the universe, as well as his character. Man's disposition toward God is not to the apostle all of his life regarded from the religious point of view. His relation towards God is an essential part of it. The universe to Paul is a society whose central person is God. For a moral being to live is to belong to this society, and to sustain a specific relation to its head. The relation has in every case a moral value as expressing the divine character, and is supremely significant for the life of the creature, since it determines God's action toward him. The mystic union with Christ creates a new relationship with God. He is the Son; those who share his life share his Sonship. The closest earthly ties are facts of social life as well as of individual experience. The child shares his parent's relationships. So, in Paul's view, he who becomes united to Christ enters into his possession of the divine fatherhood.

The mystic union with Christ is to Paul the essence of Christianity. The specific thing which made the world since Jesus' resurrection a new world, the good tidings which he was appointed to carry to Jew and Gentile was the possibility lying before all men of becoming in the deepest sense one with the Son of God. His teaching cannot be fully understood unless read in the light of this central truth. I believe that this fact has been overlooked by many interpreters of the Pauline theology; that taking some subordinate truth as the constructive principle of his theology has often led to a one-sided view of it. For this reason I desire briefly to show the supreme place which the truth under consideration has in his view of Christianity regarded as a practical system.

In the first place let me point out the fact that it underlies the doctrine of justification by faith, which many regard as the corner-stone of the Pauline theology.

In the Epistle to the Galatians the apostle attacks the doctrine of justification by the works of the law as anti-Christian. It is, he virtually says, destructive to Christian life, because it carries a denial of the supreme Christian truth, and charges the believer's experience of that truth with being unreal and deceptive. And what is the truth which must be maintained in antagonism to this perilous error? This, that believing men are united to Christ. "I through law died to law that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ, and I do not live any more, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. 2:20).

It is as though the apostle had said, "You Judaizers are enemies of the faith. In teaching that a man can only be justified by doing the works of the law, you are denying that we who believe in Christ have a real connection with him. You are therefore trying to take from us that peace with God and free spiritual life, which come only through a union with him maintained by faith in him as a present Saviour."

In the Epistle to the Romans Paul defends the doctrine of justification by faith against the charge of antinomianism by pointing out the truth which underlies the assailed doctrine, and showing that the holiness of the believer is implied in it.

"Continue in sin that grace may abound! We found grace because we died to it! When we became united to Christ it was to a Saviour who had died to sin. He passed out of all relation to it when he expired upon the cross. For us to become united to him was to come into the moral result of this his crowning earthly experience. He was the sinless man who died for human sin, and by death went out of its sphere. We who are 'in him' morally share this his death, a fact prefigured by our baptism. Because we are his then we have no debt to pay to this old master of ours. We repudiated its control in becoming his. We no longer find in its power the meaning of our life. The key to that is given in Christ's resurrection to a new sinless existence—God's free grace will not tempt us to sin. For the alpha and omega of our life is our union with the Redeemer, who has gone from this evil world into one whose law is free love to God." Justification means union to Christ, and that means holiness, is the argument.

It has been well said that the root of Paul's doctrine of justification appears in the text, "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in him." Those "in Christ" share the assent to the divine antagonism to sin made by his death. He the sinless one took death, the penalty of sin, upon him. So he as the head of mankind, the "Second Adam," affirmed the righteousness of God in condemning sin. Those who become united to him share this affirmation; they are accordingly justified. God sees them to be in Christ, and members of a race which has honored his moral law. His justifying act is only the recognition of their union with Christ. The consciousness of being joined to the Redeemer underlay in Paul's mind the belief that he was accepted of God.

Paul's doctrine of the new life is also rooted in his conception of a mystic union with Christ. That life is mediated by Jesus Christ. Those who are baptized into him receive his spirit. This spirit, the Spirit of God, attaches himself to their being, and becomes a principle of holy life in them. Not that the human soul is absorbed in the divine essence. The union between God and the believer is so effected as to preserve the

distinctness of the created personality. It knows that the indwelling life is that of God; it feels that the impulses which that life supplies proceed from him, and are of value only when freely obeyed. To have Christ in one is to be conscious of being his servant and God's son.

In presenting the new life as a moral ideal Paul urges the truth we are considering. "Recognize the spirit in your hearts, the spirit of the Son of God, and obey his impulses. So will you bring forth the virtues which are his fruits."

Paul's doctrine of immortality also flows out of his conception of the mystic union. The life which the believer has from Christ is necessarily imperishable like the Master's. It is, like his, physical as well as spiritual. The resurrection of Christ is, therefore, a prediction and type of that of his people. Until the spiritual body shall have been assumed the personal union with him which begins in faith, will not have been consummated. That consummation will come. As the race became subject to death through its connection with Adam, so it will gain endless and glorious life through its connection with Christ.

As to the truth of this central conception of the Pauline theology, I would say in brief, first, that there is no evidence that Paul derived this conception, from any human source; neither the Old Testament nor the Talmud contain ideas similar to it. The Hebrew Messiah was King of Israel and the world. He was not an invisible spiritual potency. Such a relation to the soul as Paul attributes to Jesus in saying that he is in it, and yet over it, its life and its Lord, would have seemed as impossible to the Jew of Paul's time, as it does to the rationalist of to-day.

Secondly, Paul believed that this conception of Christ came to him by revelation—"God revealed his Son in me." He must have meant the personal revelation of Christ, in which his spiritual life began. For it is to this that he traces that gospel of justification on the divineness of which he insists. The apostle's life and work were then rooted in the belief that he had come into a mystic union with Jesus Christ, into which all who would might come.

The question of the truth of that belief becomes the question of the soundness of his mental and moral life.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN SOME OF ITS THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL RELATIONS.

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I.

I wish to show that the higher criticism and its results have a necessary relation to theology and philosophy, believing that the correct understanding of this relation would be to the advantage of all who are interested in the study of the Bible.

What is the higher criticism? It is the product of many centuries. The period of the church, from Augustine to the twelfth century, was given largely to ecclesiastical organization as a ruling power. Philosophy was dead. The ancient world with its literature and its literary mind had perished. Church polity was everything. The period from the twelfth to the sixteenth century was more significant for theology. In the middle of the fifteenth century, the church had reached its limit of power and was sinking under its corruption. The mediæval system was ready to fall before the shock from the revival of learning. The recovery of the ancient literatures, consequent upon the fall of Constantinople, brought the old world back and forced its comparison with the new. The beauty of the classic in contrast with the modern Latin awoke the perception of style. With the sense for style the faculty of criticism was aroused. The recovered literature was studied critically from the modern point of view. Among the varied results, was the discovery that the pretended donation of Constantine was a forgery, and that the real Aristotle was broader than the scholastic Aristotle—information very unwelcome to the Catholic Church. Plato and Socrates gained new followers. Scholars sought to determine the age and

authorship of anonymous writings. In such investigations, the higher criticism had its beginning.

The method and principles of the criticism which was directed to ancient literature are illustrated by the contest which took place later between Bentley and Boyle concerning the Epistles of Phalaris. Bentley proved these epistles to be forgeries on principles which soon received the name of higher criticism.¹ It was inevitable that, together with other ancient writings, the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures should be subjected to this searching examination, (a) for the purpose of determining the integrity, authenticity, literary features, and credibility of the writings, (b) upon such principles as the following: 1) Accordance with supposed time, place and circumstances; 2) differences of style; 3) differences of opinion and conception; 4) citations of other authors; 5) positive testimony of other writings; 6) silence of other authorities as to the writing in hand.² These are the principles used alike by the friends and foes of Christianity in biblical criticism.

What now is the ground of, the philosophical reason for, the critical method in the investigation of the Bible, and what is its relation to theology? Criticism is a prominent factor in philosophical method which is necessary to theology. Theology can not, therefore, dispense with criticism. Dogmatism, skepticism, and criticism, represent the three attitudes of mind toward philosophical truth, and must be supplemented by "a new positive construction of those results that have stood the test of critical analysis." The true method of philosophical inquiry, therefore, "holds both analysis and synthesis in a living and progressive union, and requires for its working" the dogmatic, skeptical and critical attitude of mind. This statement is confirmed by the history of thought. The cosmological period of Greek philosophy was dogmatic towards its problems. The Sophists were skeptical towards the previous dogmatism, but they were not critical. Socrates was not only skeptical towards the dogmatic teaching of his age, but he was also critical with the purpose of dis-

¹ *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris.* London, 1699.

² C. A. Briggs, *Biblical Study.* N. Y., 1883, pp. 88-90.

tinguishing between the rational and the irrational. His doctrine of conceptions was reached by a most searching critical analysis. Plato followed his master and defined the conceptions or ideas, made them exact, and put them in proper relations with each other by critical analysis and synthesis. Aristotle dealt critically and constructively with the teachings of Plato, producing the second great system of permanent worth. The philosophers immediately following Aristotle when skeptical were not sufficiently critical with the purpose of an ultimate synthesis of the results of criticism.

In the middle ages skepticism and criticism could not be employed in the case of dogmas upon which the church had pronounced. With Descartes and his universal doubt, the necessity of the skeptical and critical attitude of mind was again recognized. Spinoza was too dogmatic. Leibnitz was skilled in the use of criticism. But with Kant, the free critical attitude and deliberate analysis were of great importance. Since Kant's day, the spirit of philosophy has been critical as it faces the results of the special sciences, receptive indeed, yet critically examining them in a system of general truths. Thus the attainment of all philosophical truth "leads from dogmatism through skepticism and critical inquiry back to a positive reconstruction."¹ In the employment of this philosophical method, perhaps it is enough to say that the controlling principles of the synthesis of tested results are the laws of non-contradiction and sufficient reason, the latter being the principle of which Leibnitz made such an extensive use.²

I have omitted the question of the reliability of our faculties for I must accept Lotze's position that it is unnecessary to subject mind itself to criticism, for the mind would have to be the critic of itself in every discussion of "theories of cognition." But the actual problems have compelled the discovery of the methods by which they may be solved. "The constant whetting of the knife is tedious, if it is not proposed to cut anything with it."³

Consequently, the philosopher assumes that his faculties in

¹ G. T. Ladd, *Introduction to Philosophy*. N. Y., 1890, chap. vi.

² *The Philosophical Works of Leibnitz*. Tr. New Haven, 1890, p. 378.

³ Lotze, *Metaphysics*. Clarendon Press, 1887, I. p. 16.

their normal activity are reliable and that there is reality and that it can be known: he tests all that is presented as material by reflective analysis; finally, he brings all that is clearly and distinctly known into one rational whole, free from contradiction and sufficient in its reason.

The task of the theologian is similar to that of the philosopher and he must adopt the philosophical method of critical analysis and synthesis. The theologian seeks to express his understanding of the world, men and history in relation to God in a system of thought. He assumes that his faculties are reliable and that, if there is a God, he can be known by men. Information is sought from the natural world, from the sciences, from ethics and religion—indeed, the whole range of existence is canvassed for truth concerning the ultimate Being “whom faith calls God.” Theology in its larger meaning is not the theology of Calvin, of the Westminster confession or of New England. Dorner suggested the larger meaning when he said: “Thetic (systematic) theology is that part of the entire system of theology which has to solve the problem presented by Christian faith itself—the exhibition of Christianity as truth.”¹ We have but to add the relation of Christianity to all other truth concerning men and God to discover the necessity of a still wider definition such as, “Theology is the science of God and of the relations between God and the universe.”²

It may be objected that this is only natural theology; certainly, we do not want a *supernatural* theology, for our God is the God of nature and of life. But the above definition means more than “natural” theology, because it is intended to include the possibility, the fact and the content of revelation. Many theologians seek first of all to show the rational probability of a revelation and, to some extent, the what, when and how of it. So far such a theologian may be called *natural*. Then is such a revelation a fact? Having proceeded so far as to conclude that the accepted canon of Scripture must be received as revelation, its truths will form material for theology.

¹ Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*. Tr. I. p. 17.

² A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*. P. 1.

The theologian, therefore, approaches the Bible, as something offered for his consideration in the formation of the doctrine of God, with the question, What is the truth revealed? The people, the author, the age, customs, language and mode of thought, have all found some expression in the sacred literature. In the nature of the case, the determination of points like these decides the understanding of the revelation. But the process of determining such points in order to reach the meaning of Scripture and, therefore, the truth revealed, is what is signified, as I understand it, by the name of the higher criticism whose purpose and principles have already been given. Since the meaning of Scripture as revelation cannot be gained without this critical investigation of many points a few of which I have just mentioned; and since the theologian must have that meaning, theology can not dispense with the higher criticism. If such a critical investigation discloses facts and truths not hitherto generally accepted, the theologian must form his system accordingly. No theologian, faithful to the philosophical method of procedure, will fail to recognize that his business is to accept facts and critically systematize them although it may mean the birth of a new theology.

Again, if the purpose of the critical examination of Scripture is kept clearly in mind, and if the principles of criticism are properly used, then there should be as much uniformity in results as in the unity of truth itself, but results are infinitely varied. I think that the conclusions reached by different writers show that prejudices and presuppositions, not the purpose and principles of the higher criticism, cause three classes of investigators, namely: the dogmatist, the rationalist and the evangelical critic, of each of whom I wish to speak. I shall endeavor to show that only the evangelical critic has any ground for expecting the theologian to accept and utilize his conclusions.

Who is the mere dogmatist? It is he who has an opinion, not worthy of being called an *a priori* theory, to be supported by proof-texts. Such a man uses Scripture only to confirm what he thinks the meaning should be. The rationalist and the evangelical critic remain. The difference between them lies in the assumptions and prejudices with which each approaches the

Scriptures. I will now endeavor to show, historically, how these presuppositions have grown up, what they are, and to which side our preference should be given.

What is the rationalist? He is the representative of a great movement of thought extending over several centuries. Lecky says that rationalism is a "certain cast of thought or bias of reasoning which has during the last three centuries gained a marked ascendancy in Europe. This spirit leads men on all occasions to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and of conscience, and, as a necessary consequence, greatly to restrict its influence upon life. It predisposes men in history to attribute all kinds of phenomena to natural rather than miraculous causes; in theology, to esteem succeeding systems the expressions of the wants and aspirations of that religious sentiment which is planted in all men; and, in ethics, to regard as duties only those which conscience reveals as such."¹

Rationalism was closely connected with and followed upon deism. Indeed, rationalism is the theory of knowledge in a deistic metaphysical system. Deism found its origin in the philosophy of Bacon and Locke, which had without the intention of its authors an injurious influence upon evangelical Christianity, for it gave great prominence to nature and natural laws, and allowed too small a place for the operation of the divine. God existed, but was not immanent in nature and government. The following was its creed so far as it had one: "When the natural order of the universe was first established, everything was in force which was necessary for human development. Christianity is not at all a necessity. All the good which we find to obtain in Christianity existed originally. It is only a republication of the first order. Revelation is not only not a divine thing, but is positively superfluous. There is no such thing as a recreation of the moral nature of man. His highest development is the result of the happy growth of his native forces."² But Locke's philosophy was logically and historically the forerunner of that of Hume who said, in his *Essay on Miracles*, that "a miracle is a violation of the

¹ W. E. H. Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*. N. Y., 1890, p. 17.

² J. F. Hurst, *Short History of the Christian Church*. N. Y., 1893, p. 308.

laws of nature ; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the "fact, is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined." In general it may be said that deism emphasized the inviolability of natural law and the merely mechanical view of the world.

Deism was translated into France, then into Switzerland and Germany, where it prepared the way for the reign of rationalism. Especially in Germany, the movement acquired a pantheistic coloring and a tendency to look upon the world and history as a logical development which culminated in the dialectic of Hegel, whose philosophy, by awakening biblical criticism, has indirectly done much towards determining the place of Christ in modern theology.

The history of this movement begins in the mathematical method of knowledge. Everything, according to deism, happened and was ruled by the laws of mechanics, or mathematical laws, of which the parallelogram of forces was the representative. If the world of nature was built upon such laws, certainly the world of thought must be understood by the mathematical method or theory of knowledge. Mathematics rest upon a few simple axioms and have a force and clearness which are irresistible. Kant's problem in a later age was to give synthetic judgments *a priori*, the certainty and validity which without question belonged to mathematics. But, before Kant's day, Descartes, himself the inventor of analytical geometry and a great mathematician, sought to apply the mathematical method to the problem of knowledge. He knew that mathematics rested on a few simple axioms from which was deduced the whole body of mathematical truth. Could he not find some self-evident truth which would be to the theory of knowledge what the axiom was to mathematics? That he might find this primary truth he resolved "never to accept anything for true which he did not clearly know to be such; that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to comprise nothing more in my judgment than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all ground of doubt."¹ The result was the famous *cogito ergo sum*. This was

¹ *Discourse on Method.* Tr. 9th Ed., p. 19.

his axiomatic truth which could not be doubted and from which Descartes deduced the existence and nature of God and the world with demonstrative certainty.

The mathematical theory of knowledge found an extravagant expression in the Ethics of Spinoza with its axioms, propositions, demonstrations, corollaries, etc. The work has the appearance of being indisputable.

Already Anselm and Abelard had raised the question which was to occupy so much attention in the later centuries—the question, namely: Do we know because we believe or do we believe because we know? Anselm said: "Neque enim quero intelligere, ut credam; sed credo, ut intelligere."¹ Abelard replied: "Qui credit cito, levis corde est."² Thus one said, belief or faith is before knowledge or reason; the other argued that belief followed conviction of truth as known. But both were ready to grant "that a satisfied reason was necessary to the completion, the continuance or even the reality of faith." A similar thought appears in the *Théodicée* of Leibnitz, who sought to demonstrate the agreement of reason with faith. Leibnitz held a theory of knowledge which was in some respects a modification of that of Spinoza. It was, especially as presented by Wolf, of the mathematical type. Truth must be proved to be truth; if the proof is wanting, the proposition may be rejected. Wolf popularized the teachings of Leibnitz, carried his premises to unwarrantable conclusions and made the mathematical proof of all spiritual truths the demand of the common people. The decline in the spiritual life of Germany, largely due to the controversies of the Reformed and Lutherans, made it possible for the new speculative rationalism to gain a firm foothold. "The Leibnitz-Wolfian philosophy opened the way for the theological rationalism which was afterwards more fully developed in the school of Kant."³

It was with Kant that the reason and the critical method

¹ "Prosligium." I. Opera, p. 30 (Ed. 1721).

² "Introd. ad Theol." Opera, p. 1051 (unique).

³ Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*. II. 113. Rationalism was introduced into theology by Semler, 1725-1792.

became supreme. The dogmatism of metaphysics and theology was so confident in its knowledge that Kant said: "I had therefore to remove knowledge in order to make room for belief."¹ He destroyed knowledge of the supersensuous as lying beyond experience. But the practical reason restored the God which the pure reason destroyed. The categorical imperative made God a new power for the conscience of his time.

Beginning with Kant and ending with Hegel, we find a highly speculative Christology in each of these transcendental philosophies, and it was the attempt to apply Hegel's philosophy to the life and history of Christ which brought about the reaction against rationalism, gave birth to modern New Testament criticism and new importance to the investigation of the Old Testament, and drew a sharp line between the rationalist and the evangelical critic. Let us briefly review this movement.

Kant was quite ready to conceive religion very much in the form of the current rationalism. He emphasized the conscience and morality. The worth of Christianity was the purity of its moral spirit which depended on the person of its founder. The interesting point for us in this discussion is Kant's view of Christ's historical character. God had from eternity an ideal of what man should be. This ideal was his own image forever before him. When this ideal is incorporated in man, man may be regarded as the son of God. In Christ, the moral ideal was personalized, and so Christ was God incarnate, who, setting forth the eternal divine ideal of man, showed what man should be. I understand Kant to mean in his "Religion Within the Limits of Pure Reason," that whoever (humanity in general) fulfils the ideal, which for us is to be sought in the reason, may have applied to him the predicates which in the Scriptures and in the teachings of the church are given to Christ, as such men are well-pleasing to God as sons of God.² It will be observed that this view almost entirely does away with Christ as a historical reality; or, if he existed, he was only of transient significance as

¹ *Critique of Pure Reason*, Supplement II.

² *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*; compare Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*. II. 186.

one of the perfect examples of the realized¹ ideal of humanity ; others may have risen in the past and may arise in the future. Indeed humanity itself will be this son of God. Kant's Christology was a moral rationalism.

In Jacobi the suppression of the historical Christ was just as pronounced, but it was done differently. He gave much prominence to the heart, intuition and faith for reaching God, and excluded reason from religion. He gave no value to historical Christianity. It was all the inner ideal of what man ought to be. This ideal might be represented under the image and by the name of Christ.²

In Fichte, Kant's subjective idealism reappeared in a pure and exalted morality. God was the moral order; he who embodied the moral order perfectly would be God incarnate, the eternal Word become flesh. We all have our place in the moral order; so had Christ who, as historical, was a necessary part of this moral order because law is in history, because without him the system could not be realized (any more than without us?), or man attain his end as a religious being. But the temporal was made subordinate to the metaphysical. Religion is the union of God and the soul, and Jesus was personalized religion. Everyone who attains unity with God does it through him. Christ most perfectly set forth the moral order and all who do reveal it in themselves have the Logos incarnate in them.²

Schelling introduced a change into philosophy, identified object and subject, real and ideal, nature and spirit, in the absolute. Following Spinoza's use of the modes of thought and extension, Schelling regarded nature and spirit as the coördinate forms in which God manifests himself. History is the field of

¹ On the nature of intuition, faith, see Jacobi, *Werke*, II. pp. 127-163. "Es leuchtet uns ein, redlicher Mann ! wie sich dir alles was vom Menschen Göttliches kann ange- schaut werden, und mit diesem Anschauen ihn erwecken zur Tugend und einem göttlichen Leben, unter dem Bilde und mit dem Namen Christus darstellt. Was Christus ausser dir, für sich gewesen, ob deinem Begriffe in der Wirklichkeit entsprechend oder nicht entsprechend, ja ob nur in dieser je vorhanden, ist in Absicht der wesentlichen Wahrheit deiner Vorstellung, und der Eigenschaft der daraus entspringenden Gesinnungen gleichgültig." *Werke*, III. 285, 286.

² *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, by A. M. Fairbairn. N. Y., 1893, p. 209.

spirit, and in it God is revealed. Schelling enlarged the province of religion beyond the merely moral to include all of man's life in relation to God. Applying this speculative view of God, nature and spirit to historical Christianity, Schelling developed a view which greatly influenced Hegel, and through Hegel Strauss, and through Strauss, modern criticism and theology. Schelling considered Christianity as preëminent because it represented the universe as a history, as a moral kingdom. God, the Ideal, appears in history as spirit. The incarnation of God or of the Ideal is the finite lifted up. I may rudely express the thought by saying,—the stain of being finite is washed out by being fully surrendered to the Ideal. Christ as embodying the Ideal in a single person represented an eternal and universal truth. The mere historical, the particular, is subordinate to the Ideal, the universal. "The Eternal Son of God, born from the essence of the Father of all things, is the finite itself as it exists in the eternal intuition of God, appearing as a suffering God, subjected to the fatalities of time; and this God, in the moment of his appearance in Christ, ends the world of finitude and opens that of infinitude or of the dominion of the spirit."¹ I offer with some hesitancy the following illustration of the meaning. In the philosophy of Leibnitz, each monad reflected the universe in miniature; God, or the supreme monad, reflected the universe most perfectly and was in turn reflected with varying degrees of completeness by the other monads. Likewise, in Schelling's philosophy, all religions before Christianity reflected imperfectly the Ideal, looking forward to Christianity which could most perfectly express that Ideal. Therefore, Christianity, most perfectly expressing that Ideal or the spiritual as the mode of God's manifestation (spinozistic term) is universal and eternal; but because universal and eternal it must never be confounded with a series of empirical facts. Consequently, Christ, as a real person whose life is recorded in the gospels, was, with Schelling, of little if any importance. To fix upon the historical Christ would be to lose the universal in the particular.

Hegel developed in a modified form Schelling's system of

¹ Schelling, *Werke*, V. p. 94.

identity in an absolute idealism. He showed how the absolute Idea unfolded itself, we may say, in syllogistic fashion. It is a thinking process made real, the perfect Reason perfectly thinking and realized. There is abstract thought which is externalized in nature and returns to itself in self-conscious spirit. In philosophy, we seek to go over in a thinking consideration the self-unfolding of the absolute reason. The object of philosophy is therefore the absolute Reason or God, his truth and his explication. Religion has the same object for the content of philosophy, and religion is the same in matter but different in form. For philosophy, God exists as *notion*, concept (Begriff) *i.e.*, as an object of pure thought; for religion, as (Vorstellung) idea or figurate conception, thought still clothed in sensuous form. All that belongs to the idea is religion; all that belong to the notion is philosophy; but materially, notion and idea are identical. Philosophy was religion in the form of thought, with all its truths reassured, articulated, explicated; religion was philosophy in the form of the idea with all its truths expressed in language, customs, and institutions, more or less sensuous, symbolical, figurative. Christianity is the perfect religion because its content agrees with that of the absolute philosophy, needing, in order to become it, only to be translated into the terms of the notion. Now, the point of their coincidence and identity is their common basis or ultimate object, the absolute of philosophy, the God of religion. Especially important for this discussion is Hegel's doctrine of the Trinity, which is in brief as follows: Abstract thought or idea in itself, universal, eternal, undeveloped, which may be designated as the Kingdom of the Father; thought or Idea moving out of itself and putting itself over against itself in the created universe. To this process, this being-for-another, may be applied the term, the Kingdom of the Son. Last is the return from manifestation into self or the Kingdom of the Spirit.¹

Hegel thus succeeded in providing an incarnation of the Absolute, but it was universal not particular, like the Christian which concerned a specific historical person. It was in the race not merely in Jesus of Nazareth. What of the real person of

¹ Hegel, *Werke*, XII. 184, developed pp. 177 ff.

Christ as a historical character in whom God was incarnate? Hegel evaded the difficulty by showing how the faith in the God-Man originated, "dealing with the faith as authenticating the fact rather than with the fact as creating and justifying the faith." Having the faith, Hegel did not need the Person.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

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I.

The great development of critical study of the Bible in our generation and the importance which has come to be attached to this kind of research, have had the natural result of making it appear as if criticism were an end in itself. A neat piece of literary analysis or the determination of the date of some imbedded fragment seems to many people a result of sufficient importance in itself to justify the labor of the student. This should not be the attitude of mind in which we approach higher criticism. Criticism is not an end but an instrument. When its work is all done we have simply prepared the way for more extended and more important investigation. Criticism is the tool with which we shape the material out of which the history of Israel, particularly its religious history, is built. To stop with the critical process is as absurd as to stop after one has hewed the building stones for a house.

The question of all questions for the biblical scholar is not, what is the composition or date of this or that particular writing, but how does the conclusion thus reached bear upon our conception of the historical development of Israel and of its religion? The religion of redemption is not, as has so often been represented, merely a belief in *past* facts, for it is in equal measure a present life and a hope which lays hold of things to come; still historical facts occupy an important position in it and it is, therefore, a matter of deep concern to the Christian consciousness to know just what the facts are which are objects of its faith. This can be decided only by a critical investigation of the

biblical records, and, accordingly, if the critic does not go on to show the bearing of his conclusions on our conception of sacred history he has failed to fulfil his duty to the church which waits for his guidance to determine the positive content of its historic faith.

It may be objected that criticism has not yet won such positive results as to be able to formulate the precise course of the religious history of Israel and that, therefore, the attempt to formulate it is unnecessary or even dangerous. It is true that final results have not yet been attained in all points; nevertheless, the forming of historical conclusions cannot wait until every minor point of criticism is cleared up to the satisfaction of all Christians. If that were demanded we should never have any conclusions and our criticism might as well not begin. We must go on from the facts as we now see them to draw inferences, always holding these liable to revision in the light of fuller knowledge; and conclusions thus formed, imperfect as they may be, are certainly worth more than those which rest on no critical basis whatever. Accordingly I wish in this article to discuss the influence which Old Testament criticism exerts upon our conception of the historical character of one portion of the Old Testament narrative, namely, that of the lives of the patriarchs in Genesis.

It may be asked why I do not investigate the historical character of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch as a whole, and make the historicity of the subdivision depend upon the degree of historicity which has been proved for the whole. The reason is that different portions of the Pentateuch stand upon different planes of historical certainty, must be tested by different processes, and, therefore, cannot be combined in a sweeping generalization in regard to the character of the book as a whole.

The story of the Pentateuch is divided most naturally into three main parts: the Primæval, which relates the creation of the world and the fortunes of the earliest race of men; the Patriarchal, which gives an account of the ancestors of the chosen people; and the Mosaic, which describes the beginning of the national life of Isarel under the leadership of the great lawgiver.

The narratives of these three periods obviously do not stand upon the same footing of historical certainty. The narrative of Mosaic times is capable of a fuller testing both externally and internally than the narrative of Abraham. The documents from which the Mosaic history is drawn are more nearly contemporary with the events which they record than those which furnish the patriarchal history, and therefore have a stronger evidential value. It is as great a mistake scientifically and apologetically to put all parts of the Pentateuch into one category, and to make the credibility of the later portions depend upon the detailed accuracy of the earlier portions, as it is to make the character of the Bible as a whole depend upon our estimate of one of its books. As in every other record, the degree of accuracy and the degree of certainty must depend upon the amount of information which was at the disposal of the author, and if his sources of knowledge in respect to patriarchal times were less full and exact than those for the time of the Exodus, this fact must make itself felt in the history.

In regard to the first and third of these periods there is no room for any very wide difference of opinion among critics. Whatever one may think about the details of the narrative, he cannot doubt that in the record of Mosaic times he is on historical ground. It is equally unquestionable that the story of primæval times is not history but *revelation*. It cannot rest either on documentary evidence or on the memory of the race, but is a product of the creative spirit of the Hebrew religion.

When now we turn to the intermediate period, the Patriarchal, we find it no such easy matter to form a general estimate of the character of the record, and this is the reason why I have singled it out for special investigation. The Pentateuch varies all the way from the revelation of supra-historical facts to the record of historical events. To which of these categories does the narrative of patriarchal times belong, or does it belong to neither?

Clearly the record of this period cannot at once be put on the same level with that of Mosaic times, for even according to the traditional theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, it was written hundreds of years after the events which it records.

Between the latest incident of patriarchal times and the earliest date that has ever been assumed for the composition of the Book of Genesis, an interval of at least three hundred years must have elapsed. What are we to think of the historical character of a narrative which was not put in writing until after so many centuries? Can it be regarded as history at all, or must we treat it as purely legendary and destitute of any historical value? This difficulty has always been felt by believers in the inspiration of the Bible, and many theories have been devised to explain how the record could be written so long after the events and yet possess full trustworthiness as history.

One theory, which at various times has found favor in the Jewish and in the Christian churches and which has not died out entirely, is that the events of the Patriarchal period were supernaturally dictated to Moses by God, and that this fact guarantees their uniform historical credibility. This theory would solve the difficulty if it could be carried out, but unfortunately it is a purely *a priori* hypothesis framed to save the absolute accuracy of the documents, and it has no support either in analogy or in the records themselves. The mechanical and unchristian conception of inspiration which underlies it is contradicted by God's uniform use of natural means to attain his ends in the manifold spheres of life and thought. It is contrary to the analogy of the other biblical histories which refer us to documentary sources in support of their credibility, but never claim to communicate a supernatural revelation of the past. It is in conflict also with the contents of these early histories themselves. They are intensely human in their characteristics and their interests. They relate matters which have no religious but only a national or tribal significance. They dwell lovingly on incidents which are connected with hallowed spots in the land of Canaan, or which exhibit the character of some favorite tribal hero. They relate in the most naïve manner incidents in the lives of the forefathers which the Christian consciousness cannot but regard as repulsive. They appeal to snatches of ancient songs in proof of a statement or to the fact that some object, connected with the incident that they record, is preserved in a certain place. All this shows the per-

factly human way in which the author went to work. Dictated revelation does not need to appeal to human evidence in support of its statements. As the work of devout men, who used the best means at their disposal, and whose work was chosen to be the vehicle of God's message to men, the primitive Hebrew narratives are incomparably beautiful and inspiring, but as dictations of the Holy Spirit they would give such an unworthy conception of God that if they made the claim for themselves we should have to reject them, as we do the Koran, as blasphemous impostures. Accordingly this theory is of no value in helping us to bridge the gap between patriarchal times and the time of the composition of Genesis.

Another theory, which found much favor among Jewish theologians and which is fully developed in the Book of Jubilees and in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, is that Moses had at his disposal documents of the patriarchal period from which he composed the Book of Genesis. This theory also has here and there found favor among Christian theologians. According to it Adam kept a sort of chronicle, which was continued by the antediluvian saints in regular descent to Methusaleh. Methusaleh handed all these records over to Shem, who preserved them in the ark, and subsequently gave them to Abraham to be carried into the land of Canaan. From Abraham they were transmitted in the chosen family to Moses and were used by him in writing Genesis. This theory was so current at the beginning of the Christian era that a large number of pseudepigraphic works were then produced, bearing the names of nearly every one of the primitive worthies from Adam to Abraham. It evidently rests upon no historical or literary evidence, but is a piece of pure speculation, called forth by the question as to how Moses could write of persons who lived so long before his own time.

Several of the church fathers conjectured that Moses obtained his information from monuments which had come down from patriarchal times, in fact it was asserted that these monuments were still standing in the East. The origin of this notion is not difficult to trace. At a time when the art of reading the hieroglyphics of Babylonia and of Egypt was lost, and only the mem-

ory of their high antiquity remained, it was easy to suppose that they contained the most important historical information, and that Moses might have availed himself of their treasures. Modern research has confirmed the belief in the age of many of these monuments, but it has not confirmed their reputation for hidden wisdom. Valuable historical items are here and there to be gained from them, but there is nothing which would have been of use to Moses in composing Genesis. If peculiar ancient documents underlay the narrative of Genesis, we should expect to find stylistic indications of their presence, but such is not the fact. Documents do underlie Genesis, but they are the same documents which underlie all the rest of the Pentateuch, and not a trace of peculiar sources is to be discovered. The various modern forms of this theory which assume that Abraham brought a cuneiform library from Ur of the Chaldees, that Jacob had the Egyptian scribes prepare a full manuscript account of the sojourn in Canaan, or, as Professor Sayce suggests in a recent number of the *London Christian World*, that cuneiform libraries were deposited in Gaza or other Canaanitish cities which were not conquered by the Israelites, and that these furnished the documentary material for the author of Genesis, are all fancies which go to pieces on the fact that Genesis exhibits exactly the same style as the other books of the Pentateuch, and that all the stories of the Patriarchal age bear the stamp of the Hebrew national character so plainly, that we must assume that they have passed through the mint of national transmission.

The only hypothesis which remains is that the narratives of this period are based upon oral tradition. Oral tradition played an important part in Israel even in comparatively late times. In Ex. 12:26 f. it is said in reference to the passover, "And it shall come to pass when your children shall say unto you, what mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, it is the sacrifice of Jehovah's passover who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt when he smote the Egyptian and delivered our houses" (cf. 13:8, 14; Josh. 4:6, 21; Deut. 4:9; 6:21). If after the art of writing was known, tradition still held its own as a means of preserving the memory of historical events, how much

more important must its function have been at a time when letters were not known, or at least were understood by only a limited portion of the community. There is nothing in the record of Genesis to indicate that the patriarchs knew how to write, and it is probable that all the history which they transmitted from one generation to another came by word of mouth. Among the Hebrews as among other ancient peoples, the beginning of history-writing must have taken place in the gathering up of national recollections.

With this conclusion the characteristics of the story of the Patriarchs are in full agreement. The anecdotes cluster about the striking events of the past and ignore minor incidents, as is natural if transmission depended upon memory only. The forefathers have assumed national rather than individual characteristics, as we should expect if the story of their lives were told and retold by successive generations. Incidents are connected with proverbs and national usages in a way which shows that they owe their preservation to the existence of the proverb or the usage.

Granted now that this is the case, how does it affect our conception of the historical character of the records of the patriarchs? Here opinions of critics differ widely. Some call attention to the marvelous feats of memory witnessed among the Arabs and other simple races, and claim that oral tradition is able to transmit an exact account of events for an indefinitely long period. Others claim that these feats of memory are witnessed only in connection with the committing of documents and that, without external aids, memory fails in a few generations. An extreme modern school, represented by Bernstein (*Ursprung u. Sagen von Abraham, Isaak u. Jacob*) and Goldzieher (*Die Juden in Mekka, and Der Mythus bei den Hebräern*) holds that there is not even a historical kernel in the narrative of the patriarchal period, but that the whole is pure myth; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are ancient demi-gods or local tribal deities, and their deeds primitive Semitic nature-myths of sun and stars, heaven and earth, storm and rain.

Some ten or fifteen years ago this view found a good deal of

favor, but it is now out of repute among scholars. Its comparisons with the mythology of other races are too far-fetched, its treatment of the Pentateuchal sources too arbitrary, and its lack of appreciation for the naturalness of the story of Genesis so obvious that it has not commended itself to sober-minded critics even among the radicals. The view which is held by the majority of the school of Graf and by many critics of other schools is that the narrative of the Patriarchs is made up, not of myths but of sagas. Saga differs from myth in originating in facts rather than in poetic imagination. It is like it in having undergone a free transforming process in the hands of the race which possesses it. In its present form it is no more historical than myth, nevertheless a fact of some sort underlies it, and in certain cases we are able to conjecture what the fact was. On this theory the Patriarchs and their wives are not individuals, but rather eponyms. Their marriages are the fusion of two neighboring clans; their journeyings in Canaan and down to Egypt are reminiscences of early tribal wanderings. Incidents in their private lives are transformed memories of episodes of national history. Stade goes all lengths in this method of interpretation in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, and even Dillman denies that Isaac and Jacob were individuals, although he considers it probable that Abraham was a real person.

The main reasons for this opinion are as follows: First, the narrative of the Patriarchs contains, it is said, internal evidence of its unhistorical character in the supernatural elements with which it is filled. This argument is urged by many who do not deny the supernatural in the abstract, and who believe that miracles have really occurred in the history of the world, but who nevertheless find the miracles of the Pentateuch intrinsically improbable. According to these critics the supernatural element in the Pentateuch, and, in fact, in the whole Old Testament, declines regularly from earlier to later times, and this is an indication that it is the result of the growth of tradition rather than a memory of facts. The miraculous, it is said, occupies a much more conspicuous place in the Pentateuch than in the rest of the Old Testament, and within the Pentateuch itself the earlier peri-

ods are more supernatural than the later ones. God appears in bodily form to the patriarchs, and talks with them face to face. Angels are constant visitors of Abraham, and sit at the door of his tent and eat the repast which he has prepared for them. At the time of the Exodus these divine manifestations are no longer seen, but God speaks through Moses to his people. Signs and wonders, however, are found in the Mosaic period, and continue to the time of the conquest of the land. Then the miraculous gradually falls off and throughout the history down to the exile we find only scattered cases of alleged miracles. In post-exilic times the supernatural disappears entirely, and even the prophetic order gives place to the scribes. Thus a regular decline of the miraculous is found from the beginning to the end of the history, and the suspicion arises that this apparent decline in God's self-revelation is really due to the fact that the early times were idealized in national tradition, and that the further back one went the greater was the glory which was cast about the good old times. That the earliest periods seemed to have abounded in the miraculous more than the later ones, is due simply to the fact that in coming down through the centuries to the time when they were recorded, the oldest traditions gathered the greatest accumulation of saga and of myth, just as snowballs which have rolled the longest become the largest.

At first glance this explanation of the miraculous in the earlier records of the Old Testament seems plausible, but a closer examination shows it to be untenable. The assumed regular decline in the miraculous from the beginning to the end of the history does not really exist. The miraculous gathers about two great epochs in the history of the religion of Israel, the time of the Exodus, and the time of the rise of the prophetic order. In the patriarchal period the supernatural is really not at all prominent. The manifestations of God which are there recorded take the form of visions, of dreams, of theophanies, all of which belong to the *subjective* side of revelation. This form of the apprehension of God is not peculiar to the patriarchal narrative, but is found in all races and in every age. Instead of being a higher degree of the supernatural, it is the lowest degree of all,

for it is not the transcendental *within* us, but the transcendental *without* us which constitutes the truly miraculous. Miracles, in the sense of objective interruptions of the course of nature, are unknown in the patriarchal period. The theophanies to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob belong as really to the subjective side of the religious life as the theophanies to Isaiah or to Ezekiel, and cannot, therefore, be classified properly as miraculous. It is not until we come to the founding of the commonwealth that signs and wonders become a feature of the record. They continue until the establishment of Israel in the land of promise and then fall off, not by imperceptible degrees, as we should expect if this theory of the miraculous in the Old Testament were true, but with a suddenness which is quite inexplicable from a naturalistic standpoint. A long period elapses which is not marked by any signal divine interventions, and then they begin once more with the rise of the prophetic order and reach their climax in the works of Elijah and Elisha, from which time they again decline rapidly. This grouping of miracles cannot be an accident in the accumulation of myth and saga about a historical kernel, but must correspond to some fact in God's revelation of himself. Accordingly no valid argument against the historical character of the patriarchal narrative can be based upon its exaggerated supernatural character.

[*To be concluded.*]

[The Editors regret that the length of Professor Paton's article compels its abrupt division at this point, in the midst of the argument. The concluding portion will appear in the December number].

THE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS.

By T. H. Root,
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II.

In our previous paper we considered the historical aspects of the problem involved in the self-consciousness of Jesus;—in the former part of that paper the nature of the problem and its importance; in the latter part, the sources to which we must go for its investigation. We found those sources to be both direct and indirect—the former, the historic record, and the latter, the historic environment of the life.

We must bear in mind, however, that the problem, though so closely connected with documentary evidence, is in itself, in the broadest and deepest sense, a study of life, a life problem. Indeed, it is for this reason that we study the life in connection with its environment, the life of the Jewish people. That aggregate of tendencies and conceptions that represent this life, we may call the consciousness of the Jewish people. We have then, on the one hand, the consciousness of the Jewish people, the result of centuries of a national and social life unique in the history of the world, and, on the other hand, growing up within this life, a part of it, and yet distinct from it, greatly influenced by it, reflecting it to some extent, yet very diverse—the consciousness of Jesus. In what does the consciousness of Jesus agree with, and in what differ from, the national consciousness? In what is the personality of Jesus unique? Though we cannot consider the life of Jesus apart from the life of the Jewish people, since the latter formed the environment in which Jesus lived, and gave to him the language and the conceptions in which his consciousness developed, yet we must not forget that below all language and con-

ceptions and customs, is the life itself, for which all these form the vehicle of expression, the mode of manifestation. It is not merely, then, the life in relation to its environment; it is the life itself in those broader relations and in those deeper channels, that are not peculiar to men as members of a particular race, but belong to man as man, that we wish to consider. What is the life of Jesus in its universal, not local or national relations? What is it in its essential religious elements, stripped of its particular Jewish garb? What is his conception of God, and of his own relation to him? What his conception of man? What his conception of his own personality, his own work, his own destiny?

The consideration of this problem as a life problem, leads us to what we may call, in distinction from the historical aspects treated in our first paper:

3. *The Scientific Aspects of the Problem.* The problem in history becomes a problem in biology. This problem, though in the sphere of the religious life, is not foreign to the domain of science. We have heard much about the conflict between science and religion. There can be no conflict between true science and true religion, between truth in science and truth in religion. The sphere of the religious life is as much the domain of science, as is any other sphere. And as in other spheres, so in this sphere, there are conditions peculiar to this sphere that must determine the nature of investigation within it.

It is important to dwell upon the fact that it is in the sphere of self-consciousness that we study the life in its essential nature, and so ally our study to all scientific investigation. For this is the sphere of the life itself as it existed in its reality, apart from all subsequent conceptions of it, apart from all that may be called accidents of environment. The most exacting science can demand no deeper or truer sphere than this in which to study the life of Christ. Were a scientist to study this life as he studies other life he would approach it from this point of view. In any investigation, science demands two things: (1) that the object regarding which knowledge is sought be investigated in its essential nature; (2) that the methods be such as shall lead

to the facts of that nature. To be scientific the search, both in the results aimed at and in the methods used, must be conditioned by the object itself. There is no breach between scientific knowledge and any true knowledge. Scientific is opposed to unscientific as that which is adequate or true, is opposed to that which is inadequate or false. It is because in so many realms of investigation the pursuit has not aimed at the heart of the thing investigated, and because the method of arriving at truth has been inadequate, unsuited to the nature of the object investigated, unfit to arrive at true and complete knowledge, that the word scientific has come to be used to denote the true method of knowledge. The word scientific itself indicates the nature of the function of science. The root of the word means to know. To know a thing we must know it in its essential nature—not some of its external features, not some of its attributes, not some of its superficial relations, not about the thing—but the thing itself, as it is in itself. Science aims that our knowledge shall be in exact relation to the fact. It rests content with no knowledge that represents more or less than this. So much for the object of knowledge. As for the methods of knowledge they must be such as shall have been determined by the nature of the object investigated. Science cannot determine beforehand its methods any more than it can determine beforehand the nature of the object that it seeks to know. This is the very essence of science—that it does not set about its investigation with any preconceived ideas regarding either the object itself or the methods of investigation to be pursued. It leaves both for the object itself to unfold. The word scientific is, indeed, used in antithesis to that manner of investigation that assumes beforehand that it knows its object, and then sets about the investigation with methods conditioned by that supposed knowledge. This is the unscientific spirit, the method of preconceived opinion, of a priori research. It is the very essence of the scientific spirit, on the other hand, that it waits, watches, listens, keeps its eye on the fact it investigates, and lets that reveal its own nature, and along with this the methods by which it may be more deeply known. The methods by which it shall be known are only part of the process of its own revelation

of itself. The true scientist is afraid of nothing so much as that he shall carry to his work a biased mind. He fears nothing so much as that the impression he has of the object shall have been derived from some other source than the object itself, and hence that he shall unconsciously be blinded in his investigation. The true method of science insists, not that the mind shall work itself into the object, but that the object shall work itself into the mind. It is then the object that comes into the mind with its own environment, not the mind with its environment that enters the object. Let it not be supposed, however, that the mind can rid itself of its environment. That cannot be. And so there will be different conceptions of the object as there are different types of mind, with different sets of conceptions and different theories of the universe. A man cannot rid himself of that mental furnishing that forms his mental character. But what science does insist on is that each investigator pursue the scientific method, the method of true knowledge, and let the object work itself into his mind, and not the mind into the object. In this way the object will have the chance to create for itself in the mind of him who receives it its own environment. That which has been erroneous in his conception of it will give place to that which is true. Systems of thought that are inconsistent with it will be modified, or will give way to that system in which the object itself belongs. The object will not only give the true conception of itself, but also the true conception of that system in which it exists in relation. And this is only saying that facts condition knowledge and guide to truth,—that the mind can have no true knowledge except as it is guided and determined by facts. For the truth concerning a fact is simply the true relation between the fact and the mind. The mind has truth when between it and its object there exists a perfect correlation. In order that the knowledge be true knowledge, the thing as known to the mind must correspond to the thing as it is in itself. The mind in knowledge seeks to be at one with the facts of the universe; it seeks to be in harmony with the world about it.

If, then, we are to satisfy the demands of science in our study of this particular problem, and are to gain results which science

shall recognize as valid not only for the determination of the religious life but also for the induction of a true philosophy, we must, as we have found, see to it that the sphere of our investigation be that in which is found the essential nature of the object studied, and also that the methods of investigations be such as are themselves determined by this object. That is, we must let the object itself determine our knowledge of itself. Our knowledge must be our knowledge of the object.

It need not be emphasized that it is in the sphere of self-consciousness (using this term in its broadest signification), that we study the life of Christ in its essential nature, and thus satisfy the demands of science as to the first point. We need not dwell on the fact that it is in this sphere that this branch of knowledge connects itself with scientific research in all other branches, and that results found by science here will be regarded as ultimate by science in all branches. So far as concerns validity the results here will stand on the same footing as results found in the natural sciences, as botany, geology, astronomy. Neither religion nor philosophy can rest until in this sphere as in other spheres there be results that shall be stamped with the seal of the most exacting science ; until here, as in other spheres, there be such a consensus on the part of scientific investigators as shall be authoritative not only for the world at large, but also for those whose work it is to take the results authenticated by the different sciences, and from them find that harmonious system of universal truth to which all contribute. The geologist studies the structure of the rocks, the botanist the living organism of the plant, the zoölogist the conscious life of the animal. In humanity, for the first time, do we find the self-conscious life of the spirit. It is the self-conscious spiritual life that is the essence of humanity. If we study man, we must study him in the sphere of self-consciousness. All that we can know of man, in his essential nature as man, is to be found here. And if man have within him the witness to a higher life than that of man, it is here that we must search for this witness. It is here that we must find the fact of the witness and its nature, and it is the validity of the witness as found here that we must determine. If there

be in human life the manifestation of divine life, if there be in man the revelation of God, it is in this sphere that we are to seek it. It is in this sphere that all investigations from whatever point of view, from whatever opinion approached, must meet, and all investigations made here, whatever be the type of mind, or individual prepossessions of the investigators, must in some degree contribute to that consensus of opinion for which all who investigate with the truly scientific spirit, with the spirit of true knowledge, must work.

It may be well to point out that we must distinguish between the facts of the self-consciousness of Jesus as formally presented in conceptions, and between the facts as they themselves existed. That is, we must distinguish between the symbols that represent the facts, and the facts themselves. We are studying the life of Christ. We want to know what were the facts of that life. For the facts of the life we must go to the life itself, to find there the facts as they were given in self-consciousness. It is in self-consciousness that the life comes to a knowledge of itself, and reveals itself. What it is in itself, it is in self-consciousness. This is the very essence of the life. The life is conscious of itself. It is self-conscious life. The only possible knowledge which we can have of the life as it was, is that given in self-consciousness. The only possible interpretation of the life as it existed in itself, is that interpretation which is given in self-consciousness. Hence, if we would know the life, we must know the life's knowledge of itself. Only the life itself knew itself immediately; all other knowledge of the life by others, to be valid, must be based on this. Underneath the knowledge that others possessed of Jesus is the knowledge that Jesus possessed of himself. Hence, if we would know the life not only in the sphere in which it must be known if the demands of science are to be met, but also on the basis of that which science will acknowledge as the only immediate and authentic witness, we must know it in its own knowledge and witness of itself. The life itself in its own knowledge of itself, is its own witness of itself.

We must, then, know the facts of the consciousness of Jesus,

as these were witnessed to by himself. What were the facts? What was his own conception of himself, of his work, of his destiny? What was his conception of God, of man? We want to know not only these facts, as they may be formally stated, but the inner spirit of the life. We want to know the principles and ideals of Jesus as these existed in his own consciousness, his inner convictions and certainties, his feelings, his states of mind, his underlying states of consciousness,—that we may know what the life was in itself, not merely as it is represented in the clear outline of thought, but as it was in the source from which all this came,—the life of which deeds and words were the expression,—the source from which these flowed, as the stream from the fountain. We do not really know the life until we know it not on the surface merely, but in the depths of its self-consciousness. We must seek to know the heart of the life, and the soul of the life, if the claims made on science by both religion and philosophy are to be satisfied.

All this is implied in the knowledge of the life. All this we are to find if our search is to be successful. This is what science seeks. This will be our scientific knowledge. These will be the facts as we find them; the facts that the object itself presents to us.

In the actual problem before us we find two processes involved; the one having to do with the determination of the symbols, the other with their valuation; the one with the formal, the other with the actual content of the self-consciousness of Jesus. The one asks,—What were the conceptions of that consciousness? The other,—What is the true value of these conceptions? The former we may call the process of criticism; the latter, the process of cognition.

These processes do not represent two distinct stages in the problem. They refer rather to the process, than to the order, of thought. They are not consecutive. Each is involved in the other. The process of criticism may be said to be incidental in the process of cognition; the process of cognition essential in the process of criticism. Their true relation is perhaps best

expressed when we say that the process of criticism is that process by which the cognitive faculty determines what are and what are not the true symbols of the life. The value given to the symbols that are found in the process of criticism to be true expressions of the consciousness of Jesus, will necessarily be an element in determining what other symbols are likewise expressions of that consciousness. It is evident that the completion of the critical process is necessary to the completion of the cognitive process, but with the completion of the former process the latter process must continue in the deeper and deeper understanding of the symbols found. It is into the cognitive process that the subjective element, that is, the knowledge and experience of the investigator, his conception of God and of the world, enters so largely as the determinative factor. The true valuation is obtained when the symbols are given the same value that they themselves had in the consciousness of Jesus. The problem seeks as near an approximation to this value as is possible.

Since scientific investigators differ both as to the formal and as to the actual content of the self-consciousness of Jesus, the problem must be regarded as one still to be solved. What the problem seeks is the unity of the self-consciousness of Jesus so far as it is possible to know that unity from the sources before us.

If we hold the records to be authentic, we must first show that in the diversity of representation, there is an essential unity. It must then be shown that the unity of representation is the unity of life. That Jesus was in reality what he is represented as deeming himself to be. That his consciousness of himself as the Messiah was his consciousness of the actual relations in which he existed; and that his growth in that consciousness was the growth in the consciousness of those actual relations. In short, that his self-consciousness was a true self-knowledge; that he was not a dreamer, a mystic, but indeed the Christ.

If we do not hold the records to be authentic, then we must discover, through the process of criticism, such portions of them as shall give, in the totality of the conceptions they present, that unity to which the life of Jesus, as it actually existed, may be held to correspond.

It is well to emphasize the fact that the problem seeks the unity of the self-consciousness of Jesus. It seeks to know the consciousness as an organic whole the individual parts of which find their essential nature in their relation to all the others. The question, therefore, is fundamental,—What is it that makes the unity of the whole in the diversity of parts? What is the law, the ideal, of the life? What is that guiding, developing, all-pervasive principle, that makes the life an organic unity? This law, or ideal, itself, we must find as a fact of consciousness. What is, then, that central conception that embodies this ideal, and how must we relate all other conceptions to this conception if we are to know the life as it really was?

There is a final stage in the ultimate solution of the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus. Given the unity of the facts, what is our interpretation of them in relation to all reality? This is the philosophical, or metaphysical, stage. How do we relate the truth that science finds here with the truth that science finds in other branches of knowledge? What is our philosophy of Christ in relation to our philosophy of God and to our philosophy of the world? What is that complete system in which our knowledge of the facts presented in the self-consciousness of Jesus shall have its legitimate place? When science has shown the fact, in so far as it can do so, in its own uniqueness and individuality, then metaphysics must come in to wed this fact to all reality. In general the difficulty is that the scientist is too apt to play the part of the metaphysician before it is time for the metaphysician to come in. This is as true in the science of biblical history as in other history; in the realm of spiritual, as in the realm of physical life. To some extent every scientist must be a metaphysician. The true scientist must have in him somewhat of the metaphysician, just as the true metaphysician must have in him somewhat of the true scientist. A scientific imagination,—what is it but that insight into the nature of things, their laws and relations, as itself is an aid to the discovery of facts. But the scientist, whatever his field, must beware lest his imagination play him false. So, when the fact to be investigated is in the realm of the religious life,

though sympathy with and insight into that life be essential to the production of results, here as in other realms of fact, yet here perhaps even more than in other realms does the student need to take care that his metaphysical or theological predispositions do not lead him astray in his purely historical and scientific investigations. The sympathetic insight is necessary, and the power to interpret, and these may suggest the path of scientific enquiry, but this done, the facts themselves should be studied in the light of their own environment that they may be determined as they really are.

We have thus far been considering the problem in its historical and scientific aspects. We have yet to consider the practical bearings of the problem.

SCHULTZ'S OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY: A CONDENSED SUMMARY.

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2. CHAPTERS III AND IV.¹

Our next task is to compare the Old Testament religion with other religions.

Until recently, it has not been possible to form a judicial estimate of the Old Testament religion, because the Scriptures have been considered too sacred to be studied critically. The idea of comparing the Old Testament with heathen books was not to be thought of. Spencer was the first to suggest that in a few external matters there was a connection between the religion of Israel and that of Egypt. For a time all that one was allowed to do was to compare the Old and New Testaments. At an early time it had been suggested that the God of the Old Testament was not the God of Christianity. It was contended that the religious principle of the Old Testament excluded love, and by some it was even considered to be a principle of envy and selfishness, absolutely immoral.

As soon as greater freedom in the handling of the sacred writings became possible, these comparisons multiplied. Some have sought to separate the two Testaments, to the disparagement of the Old. Others have sought to put the two on the same level, in order to show that neither contains the highest religion.

So soon as the Old Testament came to be studied in a judicial spirit, the question had to be faced, What is there peculiar about the Old Testament religion?

¹ The summary of Chapters I and II appeared in the August number.

Undoubtedly monotheism attracts attention first. Especially in the later history of the religion. Israel's faith centered here. And this is usually taken to be the characteristic feature of Israelitish religion. But the Old Testament does not chiefly teach that there is but one God. It makes most of the fact that it is Israel's duty to have but one God. The prevailing conviction now is, that it was late in Israel's history that she got clear notions as to the fact that there is but one God. And besides, one might believe in monotheism of a sort, and yet not believe in the Old Testament religion. Hence monotheism is not the term by which to define the religion of the Old Testament. Neither is the idea that God is personal the peculiar feature of Israel's faith. In this she does not much differ from the other nations about her.

Philosophers have pronounced various judgments on the religion of the Old Testament. Immanuel Kant seems to declare that it was hostile to the higher nature of man. He thought that the Jews did not have the idea of immortality, and hence had really no religion at all. To him Judaism was a mere collection of laws with a political purpose. The difficulty with Kant was that he called the worst part of Israel's history Jewish, and all the best features he separated as "non-Jewish." In such a way it is easy to make Israel seem poor. And as regards civil life, the Old Testament identifies the national with the religious life. But the religious is the thing sought at last. The civil is important only so far as it is religious.

English deism opposed the Old Testament in every way. It was thought to lay too much stress on rewards for virtue. Such teaching was necessary at that time in the history of the world. But, on the other hand, the Old Testament teaches self-effacement and self-sacrifice, especially in the sublime figure of the suffering servant of Jehovah. Renan and Strauss also thought poorly of the Old Testament, declaring it weak in thought as contrasted with the sacred books of India. But how is it that Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have laid hold of the civilized nations of the Aryan race, if they are so poor and weak? Hegel was the first man to give a complete estimate of Judaism

as compared with other religions. But his work is now useless, for he ignored the religions of the Hindu, the Persian and the Buddhist. Hegel thinks heathenism the lowest stage of religious development. Christianity is the highest, being the religion of incarnation and reconciliation. The bridge between heathenism and Christianity is formed by the Greek, the Roman and the Jewish religions. Hegel thinks the Old Testament religion the least complete of the three, because it separates between man and God in a sharp way and does not bring man and God into real unity. Bruno Bauer, on the other hand, insists that the Jewish is superior to the Greek religion, because in the Greek there was really no consciousness of sin. Both of these writers, however, fail to see that the characteristic feature of the Old Testament religion is the growing unity between God and man, in the kingdom of God on earth.

Schelling believes that the Old Testament religion is the revealed religion of God. But he thinks it is hampered by the natural religions out of which it sprung. He also thinks it hampered by the fact that it was under the necessity of opposing false religions, idolatry, at every stage of its own growth. Modern philosophical writers generally agree that the Old Testament is the preliminary stage of Christianity. It does not recognize that God dwells in, energizes in, the world. Yet it is a revelation, and teaches that in the nation man has a real union with God. We must fully assent to the beautiful saying of Lotze: "Among the theocratic nations of the East the Hebrews appear to us like sober men among drunkards. To the ancient world they doubtless seemed like dreamers among waking men."

Examined historically, Judaism at first sight seems to rank with the great ethical religions. Examined more closely, however, it is seen to have its roots in physical and national religions. It springs at first from nature-worship. In the earliest history of nations man personifies the mighty forces of nature which confront him. He feels that somehow these forces are akin to his own spirit. But he does not thereby think of God as one. These nature-religions are always national religions moulded by the experiences of the people. The mode of worship is con-

nected with the every-day life of the people. The lowest of these religions is animism, in which the separate phenomena of nature are regarded as living forces and are feared and dreaded. Closely akin to this is ancestor-worship. Among the Semitic pastoral tribes the form of the nature-worship seems to have been somewhat higher than this. There was no idea of one God however. But the people feared God because he was holy and terrible. He was worshiped as the Sovereign Lord of the particular people. Out of this soil grew the higher forms of prophetic religion. Out of it also grew the terrible fear which expressed itself in human sacrifices.

No doubt the highest form of nature-worship is that which lies back of the religions of the Aryan races. Here the gods are elemental spirits intermingling with the souls of men. These spirits are neither good nor bad. But the heaven of light is looked upon as the source of the powers of nature. The religious feeling thus excited is one, not of fear, but of love. It is a joyous heroic religion, the spring of poetry and culture, of ethics and philosophy; yet not a foundation for prophecy or revelation.

These primitive religions each grew into civilized religions, the Babylonian, the Hindu, the Egyptian, the Grecian, the Roman, the Chinese. But in none of these is there a real advance beyond the merely physical religion. No one of these great religions fully acknowledges that God is spirit. No one fully teaches that communion with God must be inward. No one distinctly proclaims that religion has to do with the individual life. Whether as regards origin or ultimate aim, no one of the religions of this class admits of any comparison with the biblical religion. Indeed there are but three religions, besides Christianity, which are at all worthy of comparison with the religion of the Old Testament. These are the Persian, the Buddhist and the Mohammedan.

Judaism and the Persian religion each grew out of simple nature-worship and each gained a spiritual conception of God, mainly, by means of the religious genius of their prophets. That they were in sympathy with each other when they first came

into contact is plain from Isaiah 44 and 45. The differences are mainly two. The Persians spent their energies in war, and no men of prophetic spirit came forth to develop their religion. Hence it went down before the religion of civilized Asia. The other difference is in the soil. The Persian religion had many kindred spirits about the God of Light. Polytheism became easy. This was not true with the God of the Hebrews. By the prophets he was raised absolutely above the world and made to be supreme over good and evil.

As regards Buddhism, Judaism has for it no affinity whatever. Buddhism is nature-religion because pantheistic. And the outcome of it is pessimism. As a mere "world" it is not good, and to belong to it is no blessing. Only the man who believes in the providence of a God, who is spirit and who is love, has the right to look at the world with the eye of an optimist without being guilty of superficiality.

As for Mohammedanism, it cannot be compared with the Old Testament religion, because the kernel of Mohammedanism was taken from the Old Testament. Mohammedanism is only a heresy whose power is due to its having to contend with the idolatry and heathenism of the oriental church.

As to the relations between the Old Testament and the New (Chapter IV), Christ and his apostles regarded Old Testament piety as fitted to be the foundation even of Christian piety. The Old Testament religion is an essential part of Christianity. A Jew could remain a Jew, while becoming a Christian. A Christian, on the other hand, could not remain a worshiper of Jupiter. Every New Testament idea is found in germ in the Old Testament. The Old Testament religion is truly a religion of revelation leading up to the divinely-human life of Jesus.

The Old Testament religion was not a mere natural human development. It was the product of the Spirit of God, at work in Israel's spiritual life, by which Israel was separated to a special work. The Old Testament religion can only be explained as a religion of revelation. The knowledge of God was not obtained along the line of philosophy or poetry. Israel's teachers were prophets. These men understood the will of God intuitively.

Religious truth did not come to them by intellectual labor. It came to them as a power pressing upon the soul with irresistible might. And yet the divine religion conformed itself in its growth to the laws of development. It adopted the popular customs and festivals of the time, some of which were not Israelitish. It did not at once change the moral standards of bedouin life. It purified them gradually from within. It put up with slavery and polygamy and soothsaying, until the time came when these could be purified. And it came to a consciousness of its own true essence only in Christ.

There is one basal principle in biblical religion, in Old Testament and in New alike. It is this, that the perfect God wishes to bring men into holiness and communion with himself. The history of Judaism is the history of God's plan to redeem men from sin and reconcile men to himself. In poetry and in prophecy there is joy over communion with God, or sorrow at the loss of it, or longing to obtain it. A present salvation is always in mind.

The question remains, What relation do these two Testaments bear to each other? The early church saw in Christianity only the completion of the Old Testament religion. The essence of religion is a salvation that moulds human life. The moment we admit that Jesus is the complete revelation of the Divine Spirit in human life, that moment we declare Jesus to be the one who alone has seen God, and Christianity becomes a thing absolutely new. The incarnation is not revealed in the Old Testament. It is because Jesus is absolutely unique that we must deny that Christianity is a mere development out of Judaism. The Old Testament religion is a religion of duty, of law. Christianity is the religion of incarnation, of union between God and man. It is the religion of reconciliation and of love, of faith and of sonship.

The New Testament religion is not in the Old Testament as a hidden and secret teaching. But it is there in germ, incomplete and undefined. There is a real unity of life in both religions. Neither can be understood without the other. For him who has not seen the fruit much both in bud and blossom will remain a riddle. The line of separation between the Old Testament and

New Testament theology, is easily drawn. The boundary is the founding of the priestly state, at the close of the Maccabean struggles. Up to this time the old religion has been creative, living. At this time it becomes fixed in form, perfect in character, incapable of further development. Whatever follows is introductory to New Testament theology. It is no part of Old Testament theology.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Institute was held in New York city October 24. There were present Rev. Arthur Brooks, D.D.; Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D.; Prof. Charles R. Brown, Ph.D.; Prof. Francis Brown, Ph.D., D.D.; Prof. Edward L. Curtis, Ph.D.; Principal William R. Harper and Vice-Principal Frank K. Sanders. Letters were received from Pres. W. G. Ballantine, D.D.; Prof. Marcus D. Buell, D.D.; Prof. Milton S. Terry, D.D.; Prof. J. Henry Thayer, D.D., and Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge. All of these wrote indorsing the plans of work for the ensuing year which had previously been submitted to them. These plans were carefully considered by the directors present, and unanimously adopted. They are, in brief, as follows:

Popular Bible Study.—Earnest and continuous efforts have been made to persuade men and women to give study to the Scriptures, either in their original languages or in the English translation. These efforts have met with a measure of success. It is evident, however, that the mass of the people who are to be reached with better ideas concerning the Bible are frightened by the *idea of study*, and will not undertake anything which bears so serious a name. Therefore, if it were possible to prepare a *course of reading* in and about the Bible, there are thousands who stand ready to undertake it. Chautauqua has undertaken and conducted with great success reading courses along the secular lines. It seems, upon the whole, advisable, either to coöperate with Chautauqua in the organization of a biblical reading circle, or to establish such a reading circle independently.

The work of the Circle will be a course of reading in and about the Bible.

The requirements will be the reading of a certain portion of the Bible and certain books about the Bible, which will occupy about thirty minutes daily.

There will be four courses, each continuing one year.

The first year's course will be arranged on the Life of Christ, and will begin January 1, 1894; the second year will probably consider the Old Testament History and Prophecy; the third year the Founding of the Christian Church; the fourth year Old Testament Legislation and Literature.

The books not already available will be prepared by persons chosen by the Institute and published under its direction.

The fee will be 50 cents a year, payable semi-annually.

The BIBLICAL WORLD will be adopted as the organ of the circle, and will contain "*Required Readings*."

There will be a certificate for the four years' work.

This plan is already working, and was fully described in the September number of the BIBLICAL WORLD. It does not do away with the old plan of Correspondence Clubs, where persons are sufficiently prepared for such advanced work, that being merely an adaptation of the correspondence courses to clubs, and requiring as much time and preparation as the individual correspondence work.

Summer Schools.—It is an interesting fact that while in some directions the Summer School work has made rapid progress, it seems in Bible work to have lost ground. This is due, partly to the failure on the part of the Institute to do the necessary amount of work in developing the schools. It has shown conclusively that such schools, to be effective, must be located in different quarters of the country, since no school will draw very largely from a distance. It is therefore proposed—

1. That the Institute coöperate with Chautauqua Assemblies in the organization of Summer Bible Schools to such extent as may seem wise after correspondence with the authorities of the various assemblies.
2. That the Institute coöperate with the University of Chicago in the holding of a Summer School during the summer months.
3. That a school be organized, either directly or in coöperation with another institution at some point in New England and at some point on the Pacific Coast.

(*Remark*.—The Chautauqua Assemblies are already, many of them, ready to coöperate).

Special Institutes.—The experience of three or four years has shown clearly that much good may be accomplished in a locality by concentrating effort along one direction, even for a short time. The results accomplished at the University of Michigan, in the city of Chicago, and elsewhere, indicate a field of work which has remained practically undeveloped. The work of the vice-principal, Dr. Sanders, in the state of Connecticut, in connection with Sunday School Institutes, indicates also another field lying open ready for occupancy. It is proposed that arrangements be made to hold a special Bible Institute in about one hundred different colleges or universities during the coming year, these Institutes to take up for study and consideration particular portions of the Bible, the aim being to arouse a permanent interest in the study of the Sacred Scriptures; that arrangements be made to hold special Bible Institutes in connection with Sunday School Associations and other religious organizations, to such extent as may be found practicable.

University Extension Lecture Courses.—In many portions of the country the University Extension work has taken a strong hold, and has been, to some extent, organized. When courses in history, in literature, and in other subjects are being offered to people, there seems to be no good reason why courses of lectures on the Bible should not likewise be offered.

The Institute of Sacred Literature will, therefore, coöperate with University Extension organizations in arranging for courses of Bible lectures.

Correspondence Teaching.—The correspondence work of the Institute has been carried on with much satisfaction, and the same lines of work will be continued, new courses being added as the demand for them arrives. A full statement of the courses now in operation may be found in the October number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.

Examinations.—The work of the Institute in the department of Examinations has not been attended with the success which was anticipated. It is true, however, that many hundreds of people in every part of this country, and in other countries, have prepared themselves for the examinations proposed, and have passed the examinations with a large measure of credit. It is believed that the work has been attended with sufficient success to warrant its continuance. It is therefore proposed—

- a. That an examination be offered once a year in connection with the Blakeslee lessons.
- b. That an examination be offered once a year in connection with the International Sunday School lessons.
- c. That an effort be made to secure the offering of a prize for the best examination presented in a given locality.
- d. That a college prize be offered for the best examination paper upon a biblical subject written by an undergraduate student.
- e. That a college prize be offered for the best examination paper in Hebrew presented by an undergraduate student.
- f. That a college prize be offered for the best examination paper in New Testament Greek presented by an undergraduate student.

Publications.—After several years of experience, it is evident that the original plan of the Institute must again be considered, namely, the plan which included publication as well as instruction. For the carrying out of the plans of the Institute, a new literature on the Bible must be provided. So far as practicable the work of this department will be conducted in coöperation with other concerns.

The publications must include books for the reading circles, correspondence lessons, the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, manuals and text-books for colleges and theological seminaries, direction sheets, syllabi and such other literature as it may be deemed wise to publish.

Institute Boards.—Local Boards of the Institute have been organized in Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Baltimore and Washington. In every case the work of the Board at one time has been prosperous. In nearly every case to-day the Boards are accomplishing little.

Therefore all Local Boards already organized will be visited and reorganized, the Board of Directors in each case to be reduced to active members.

The work of these Local Boards will be broadened, and made to include,

not only the duty of organizing lecture courses in their respective cities, but of encouraging and conducting all the departments of the Institute's work in the city in which the Board is organized.

Additional Boards will be organized in convenient and promising places.

Arrangements will be made by which the work of each Board will be definitely reported and thoroughly inspected.

Steps will also be taken for the organization of a National Council of the Institute, to be made up of delegates from each Local Board; the work of this Council will include the consideration of plans and methods for the advancement of the interests of the Institute and the recommendation of the same to the Directors of the Institute, at which meeting the living problem of biblical study will be discussed.

Organization.—The carrying out of the work outlined above will require a reorganization of the working force of the Institute.

The number of the Board of Directors will therefore be increased from eighteen to twenty-four, in order to be made more fully representative.

Each division of the work of the Institute will be placed in the hands of a committee of three, of each of which committees the Principal, or in his place a vice-principal, will be chairman.

The general management of the affairs of the Institute in the interval of the meetings of the Board of Directors will be in the hands of an executive committee of five, with headquarters at Chicago.

A vice-principal will be appointed for each general section of the country, namely, one for New England, one for New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, one for the middle Northwest, one for the Pacific Coast, one for the Eastern South, one for the Western South, one for Canada, one for England, one for Australia, and one for Eastern countries.

Three secretaries will be employed—a general secretary, whose time shall be spent largely in traveling and in the work of organization, an editorial secretary, and an office secretary.

Finances.—To carry on the work thus presented will require each year a large sum of money. The resources on the basis of the proposed plan may be divided into two classes, voluntary contributions and income from fees of various kinds. In the matter of contributions an effort will be made at once to secure the sum of \$5,000 a year for five years. This sum of money was once secured for the Institute and can be secured again. It will require simply the effort of those who are interested to bring about the result.

Exploration and Discovery.

SOME NOTES FROM PALESTINE.

By DEAN A. WALKER, M.A.
The University of Chicago.

I. FUTURE OF THE SAMARITAN CHURCH.

The tourist in Palestine to-day misses some of the principal features that the travelers of twenty years ago enjoyed. The miraculous light in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Easter, with the accompanying broil between the Greeks and Latins, is a thing of the past, though the spirit that prompted such unchristian disturbances still survives. The playful custom of stoning strangers in the streets of Hebron no longer adds spice to the traveler's experiences in the Holy Land. It seems likely that another of the principal features of interest which has often been described, the passover celebration of the Samaritans at Nablous, may soon be seen no more.

The Samaritan community now numbers not more than a hundred souls, and is said to be steadily decreasing. The rising generation does not feel the same loyalty to the church that their fathers showed, and various influences are at work to undermine their organization. The High Priest is a man well advanced in years, and his assistant, a young man of thirty to thirty-five years, who should succeed to the office and who now has charge of the parochial school, seems not very enthusiastic over the prospect. In an interview we had with him three years ago, he expressed his doubts as to the future of the church, and seemed to be seriously considering whether it would not be wiser for him to abandon his office, as likely, in the near future, to fail to insure him a comfortable living. With this possibility in view, he had many questions to ask about America, and inquired whether at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut he would be allowed to study English only, as a preparation for emigrating to the United States.

With its prospective High Priest in such an attitude, the prospects of the Samaritan church are not encouraging, and if his views are shared by the rest of the younger members of the community, the dissolution of their organization seems near at hand.

II. MEDEBA.

This old Moabite town, before whose walls Joab divided his army with his brother Abishai (1 Chron. 19:11) to meet the Ammonites before the gate of the city and their Syrian allies in the plain, after lying desolate for centuries,

is now again inhabited. About the year 1880 the Christians of Kerak, unable longer to endure the oppressions of the governor, the infamous Majelli, determined to migrate, and secured from the Turkish government a considerable tract of land north of the Wady Mojib, the Arnon, including the mound that partially covers the ruins of ancient Medeba. On this mound they have located the modern town. The charter from the government, however, could not insure them the peaceable possession of their new territory, for the neighboring Bedouin regarded the land as their own, and the new-comers had to make good their title by arms. For this purpose they were furnished with a stand of Remington rifles, with which they have secured the respect of their neighbors, the 'Adwan, Beni Sahr and Beni Himâdi, and serve as an outpost for the government.

The principal ruins of the ancient town that have remained unburied are three large tanks, the largest of them 120 yards square, a portion of a castle and two or three temples partly buried. These are mentioned in Canon Tristram's "Land of Moab" and in Baedeker's "Palestine and Syria" of 1875. But since these works were issued, the present inhabitants, in laying foundations and seeking materials for their houses, have opened up other interesting remains. The basements of seven basilicas have been disclosed, showing that the town must have been one of considerable importance in early Christian times, though it never could have rivalled Amman and Jerash in wealth and magnificence.

A considerable degree of wealth and refinement is revealed in a small chamber recently opened, whose floor about twelve feet square presents a finely preserved mosaic, composed of stones half an inch square. The centre piece is a portrait head of a woman in finer mosaic, set in a circle a foot in diameter. Reaching to this from each corner of the room is a tree, each tree bearing a different kind of fruit. In each of the four triangular spaces so marked off stand two animals or birds facing each other, in one a lion facing a bull, in the next two turkeys, in the third two lambs, in the fourth two partridges. Of these, the quadrupeds are about two feet long and stand a foot and a half high, while the birds are about life size. Before the door of the chamber outside lies a mosaic pavement somewhat worn, representing two lions facing each other.

The disclosure of such a work of art suggests the possibility of finding others if systematic excavations could be made. For such work Medeba presents attractions not to be found in the ruined cities further north. At Amman, Jerash, and Bostra the ruins lie almost entirely on the surface, and the work of the explorer after mapping the sites and making restorations of fallen walls and columns would be only to turn a stone here and there that may have fallen with inscription downwards. They are ruined cities, but not buried cities, and what was of value in them lies on the surface or has long ago been carried off. But Medeba was built on a different plan. Situated in a wide, arable plain where stone was not so easily procured, it employed

adobe walls for its meaner buildings, and like most of the buried cities of the East, has covered itself with a mound of its own debris and of dust drifted in by the winds. That the present population is entirely Christian should make it easier to obtain permits to excavate, but the presence of the dwellings of the modern town covering a large part of the mound would increase the expense.

The present population of the town consists of about nine hundred Greek and Latin Christians, about three-fourths of the former and one-fourth of the latter. On our visit to the place in the Summer of 1890, we found the head of the Greek community a poor ignorant fellow, who was just then about to go up to Jerusalem for his ordination as priest of the village. His early departure on the morrow was his excuse for pressing upon us his claim for a *gift* of four Napoleons. On the day of our arrival, he had tied to our tent peg as his gift to us a sheep, for which two dollars would have been a high price in the market, and now he was waiting a present in return. A Frenchman who had once gone that way had given him two Napoleons in return for a similar gift, and as there were three of us, and we were Americans, and therefore necessarily had more money than we knew what to do with, he thought four Napoleons was the least that our honor would permit us to give him. As the four pounds was not forthcoming, he squatted in our tent and announced his intention of remaining till it was paid, and after wasting a quantity of poor Arabic upon him, we were obliged to call in the servants to remove him.

A very different character from this was Father Paul Beaver, the head of the Latin community, a man of commanding presence and with a heart and a hand in proportion to his body. Though the spiritual adviser of only one-fourth of the people, he was looked up to by all as the real head man of the town, and the public councils were often held in his house. He was a native of Lorraine and a member of the Franciscan order. He spoke fluently the German, French, and Arabic, and had a fair knowledge of English. This last he had acquired in a nine-months visit to the United States where he had traveled from New York to Galveston closely observant of our customs and institutions. On one of our party being introduced as from Iowa, he remembered that "that was the state where it was so hard to get anything to drink," till he learned the way to the back door of the hotel and there "could get all he wanted."

Father Paul had been at this post about five years. When he first came to Medeba, the Christian colony there were much annoyed by their Bedouin neighbors, who were bent on driving them out. These at once notified the new priest that he would not be allowed to stay and tried to intimidate him by making his house a target on dark nights. But he was not to be easily frightened. On such occasions he would take his gun and walk out around his house, firing at random in the darkness; and the Bedouin soon began to see that the chances of death by accident were about equal on both sides, and that a man accidentally killed by a stray bullet would have only

Allah and himself (?) to thank for it, and could not plausibly claim blood indemnity. Father Paul had proved himself a worthy representative of the church militant and it seemed to them best to leave him alone.

III. INNOVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA.

The archæologist as a man pities the fate of Herculaneum and Pompeii overwhelmed by the eruption of Vesuvius, but as an archæologist he cannot but rejoice that their fate has preserved to us until the present day a picture of old Roman times such as we could get in no other way. Reversing the thought, those who believe in the benefits of western civilization must rejoice in the prospect which the introduction of railroads in Palestine opens to her people; but as students of the Bible we regret the introduction there of influences that must soon in a great measure impair the value of the Land as an illustration of the Book. What Vesuvius did for the archæologist, the lethargy of the East has done for Bible students in preserving unchanged the manners and customs of Bible times.

It is interesting to consider the changes likely to be wrought by the introduction of the railroad and the innovations that will accompany it. The physical features of the country will of course remain the same. Its value for the study of sacred geography cannot be impaired, even should the Sultan's scruples be so far overcome as to permit the railroad engineers to bore a tunnel through the hills here and there. But the social and industrial forms are not so unchangeable and must soon undergo some transformation. Indeed the process was already begun before the railroad came in. The facilities for travel offered by the great tourist agencies, such as Cook's and Gaze's, have called into the country a traveling public and created demands such as a railroad would create. Hotels have sprung up in the principal towns, furnished with European furniture and served with European food. The tourist is everywhere recognized as a tourist, and even in smaller places, efforts are made to meet his European tastes. And just in proportion as those efforts are successful, to that degree does the traveler fail to come in contact with oriental life. In other words, the richness of one's experience in oriental travel will be about in proportion to the discomforts endured.

The changes that the traveling facilities of tourist agencies have begun, the railroad will complete. The khan long since gave way to the tent and the tent will now give way to the railroad station and the hotel. For the dragoman and the muleteer, we shall have the conductor and the brakeman. No more of the free life in the saddle, the tinkle of the mule bells or the bray of the muleteer's little donkey, who in sobbing tones of outraged innocence would have every passing donkey to believe that he is carrying the heaviest load in the caravan.

A practice already begun and likely to increase with the increase of travel is that of charging not bakhshish but admission fees at points of special interest. It is hardly ten years since the traveler might with all his train of pack

animals file through the great portal of the temple of Baalbec and pitch his camp for as many days as he wished in the quiet of those mighty ruins. But now a fence closes the portal pierced by a little doorway, and he must leave his camp outside, and his camera, and his excess of riches to the amount of a medjidieh (80 cents), when he comes to pass through this "needle's eye." He may get what satisfaction he can from the thought that his medjidieh possibly goes toward the support of a moslem school in Baalbec, which the government has instituted to compete with the British-Syrian school for girls. Here, too, at Baalbec, the beautiful little park at Ras-ul-'Ain, just above the town, is let out at auction for about twenty pounds a year to a custodian who has the monopoly of the business of rolling up his trousers and wading into the pool to dip you up a glass of water from what is supposed to be a cooler part of the spring, and forgetting to apologize for putting his bare feet into the water you are to drink, tells you as a hint that King Milán of Servia on his recent visit gave him a bakhshish of two English pounds.

Now it seems probable that with the increase of travel following the introduction of railways, other places will learn to work their local points of interest as valuable franchises. Why, for example, should not the old Crusader castles of Subehbeh above Banias and Shekkif on the Leontes, older and more picturesque than Kenilworth and Warwick, be made to yield a little revenue to some local governor. The former lies directly on the tourist's route from Jerusalem to Damascus on the foot-hills of Mt. Hermon, and quite near the route of the proposed railroad from Acre to Damascus, and few places in Palestine afford such a view as may be had from its battlements. A railroad from Damascus to the Euphrates via Palmyra would pass not far from the wonderful natural vapor bath of Ghantur, which a little enterprise might convert into a sanitarium of great efficacy for skin diseases and rheumatism, for which it was once a famous cure, if we may judge by the extensive ruins that cover it.

The railroad now in construction from Damascus southward to the Hauran runs in the direction of the great caravan route to Mecca, and suggests the possibility that in the near future it may be extended to the Holy Cities of Arabia, to carry the thousands of pilgrims who now make the weary journey on camel or horse. Such a road would pass near the great ruined cities of Bostra, Jerash, Amman and Madeba, and the wonderful Persian palace of Mashita, opening up to the tourist a new field of interest in the lands beyond Jordan, at present accessible only at considerable expense and with doubtful safety.

While therefore the introduction of the railroad and its attendant modern conveniences is soon to do away with that flavor of oriental life which is one of the charms of travel in the East, it will bring its compensations in making points of interest more accessible, and it is to be hoped also will have such a broadening effect upon the country and its rulers that the explorations and excavations, so much to be desired for the furtherance of biblical knowledge, will be permitted on more advantageous terms.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PSALTER. By REV. JOHN P. PETERS, in *The New World*, June, 1893, pp. 203-311.

The latest work in the criticism of the Psalms by Professor Cheyne is radical and based upon wrong critical methods. His work disregards the data furnished by the Psalter itself in the form of external arrangement, quotations, and references. It depends entirely upon subjective criteria and is based largely upon conjecture. It is a universal principle in the history of hymns and songs that they change and grow from age to age. Such changes and growth are to be found in the Psalms: (1) Insertions are found to have been made in Psalms 9 and 10, originally an alphabetic acrostic, every second verse commencing with a different letter in the order of the alphabet. Psalm 44 furnishes an example of the addition of a dirge of lamentation to a joyful hymn; Psalms 3, 46, 80 have grown in the same way. (2) Longer hymns appear developed from an ancient shorter formula as a theme or motive. Here belongs Psalm 68. Refrains are frequently added, as in Psalms 42, 46. (3) A hymn book must represent the popular side of religion, and must not be treated as though it represented the spiritual leaders. The latter may be far in advance of the people; and the popular belief may be entirely inconsistent. "People will profess orthodoxy in their creeds and sing heresy in favorite hymns with the most naïve unconsciousness of inconsistency between them." (4) The Psalms are poetry and must be treated as poetry. In seeking for the historical settings, one may overlook this fact.

The following are the stages of growth in the Psalter: (1) First collection, Psalms 3-41, to which were prefixed later Psalms 1 and 2. (2) Three Elohistic selections, the Psalter of the sons of Korah, 42-49, the Psalter of Asaph, 50, 73-83, the Prayers of David, the son of Jesse, 51-72. (3) The re-editing of these collections by Jehovahistic editors with the addition of Psalms 84-89. (4) The division of this collection into two books after Psalm 72, thus making three books in all. (5) The addition of a fourth book, 90-150. (6) The division of the fourth book into two after the fashion of the Pentateuch.

By study of the headings, the Psalms repeated in different portions of the Psalter, it is clear that the first three books of the Psalter, as a whole, had been collected and edited a considerable time before the editing of the collections of the last two books.

From a study of 1 Chronicles 16: 8-36, it is clear that the fourth book had been arranged as early as 330 B. C. At the same time the fifth book was

in existence, or at least a portion of it. Psalms 138-144 were added to what in 330 B.C. was a complete book in the time of the Antiochian oppression. Psalms 145-150 were added in the time of the Maccabean triumph. It is safe to say that Psalms 90-134 had been arranged at some time between 400 and 350 B.C. To a much earlier period, however, we must assign books 2 and 3, and Psalms 42-89.

Of the three collections composing these books, 84-89 may be assigned to a date between 500 and 450 B.C. They represent a period of distress and humiliation. They are also evidently post-exilic,—the feeling is the same as that found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and the post-exilic prophets. The other three collections had in each case been collected separately as early as 500 to 450 B.C.

The first book as a collection is not earlier than the exile, as is seen from the Psalms in it which indicate exilic conditions. There are in it also very late legal elements, but the greater part of the book is pre-exilic. It contains the "most forceful poems of the Psalter and those containing the most primitive pictures of nature." There must be assigned to David an important part in the development not only of secular but also of religious lyrical poetry. At the same time, it is probable that the Davidic Psalms have been so edited, adapted, added to, and subtracted from that it is difficult to identify the original work. The form and content of Babylonian psalmody suggest an earlier age for the beginning of Hebrew psalmody. The prophets show evidence of an acquaintance with lyrical religious poetry which has been largely under-estimated.

The order of development thus suggested is attested (1) by a study of the general tone, as joyful or triumphant, or as indicating distress and calamity; (2) by an analysis of references to sacrifice or matters relating to sacrifice; (3) by an analysis of the mythological references; (4) by the history of the doctrine of the future life.

The criticism of Professor Cheyne's views, which constantly appears in this treatment must be regarded as well-founded. The principles upon which the present treatment is worked are surely well established principles. The general outline indicated in the article is extremely satisfactory, although the details in some cases, for example Psalm 42, rest largely upon conjecture. The article is thoroughly good in its tone and full of suggestion. It is to be hoped that the author will be able to give us in full form the ideas here expressed.

W. R. H.

Notes and Opinions.

The Study of New Testament Greek.—Too great stress can hardly be laid upon the value of the study of New Testament Greek. Very much has been gained when the New Testament is known first-hand through the medium of its original language. Not only a clearer conception of the thought is obtained, but a new force and a new life are given it. To one who would have a thorough familiarity with New Testament thought, a thorough knowledge of the New Testament language is especially important.

There are three elements in the process of learning a language: (1) a knowledge of the words themselves; (2) an understanding of their forms, and (3) of the structure of sentences. Given, a knowledge of the vocabulary, and an understanding of the laws that govern the forms of words and the structure of sentences, and the language is understood. Perhaps the first element is the most important. A very great part in the labor of learning a language is in the mastery of the vocabulary. The words themselves are the body of the language. We must get hold of the words. The best way to do this is through the mastery of the roots and of the various ways in which derivatives are formed from these. A knowledge of one root and of its derivatives, and of the manner of their formation, *i.e.*, a knowledge of one group of words, gives a knowledge of very many groups whose derivatives have been formed in the same fashion. A mastery of a few representative groups gives an insight into all groups and into the language. This is the true way to study not only the language as it is, but the language in its growth. The language in its growth is seen in the language as it is.

A recent attempt to facilitate the mastery of the New Testament vocabulary is found in the pamphlet prepared by Ozora Stearns Davis, with the title *Vocabulary of New Testament Words*. The aim of this little book is to aid in the sight-reading of the New Testament, and to this end "to arrange in a suggestive and, at the same time, scientific way, all nouns, adjectives, and verbs used more than ten times in the New Testament." Words are classified according to roots. The number of times each word is used in the different groups of New Testament writings is stated. An English vocabulary is given at the end. In a notice in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, Professor Riggs, of Auburn, writes: "This little book, which means much mechanical labor and care, we welcome heartily. May it contribute one more impulse to the mastery of the Greek of the New Testament, which every theological student, at least, should seek for. The time has gone by when men should have their knowledge of New Testament Greek poured into them

by means of exegetical lectures. They should study New Testament grammar and New Testament vocabularies till they *know* the Greek of their New Testaments. Then they can have some intelligent appreciation of the exegetical work that is done for them; better still, they would be able to do some work for themselves. All such help as this, prepared by Mr. Davis at the suggestion of Professor Jacobus, should be widely used. May this be the good fortune of this timely work."

T. H. R.

A Noteworthy Difference between the Public and the Private Epistles of the New Testament.—Under this heading, Dunlop Moore of Pittsburgh, Pa., contributes an interesting note to the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October. He writes: "To my knowledge no commentator has hitherto adverted to a point which seems to me deserving of being noted. In the Epistles of the New Testament, addressed to communities, no individual then alive, of whom any evil thing is related, or who is spoken of with disapprobation, *is mentioned by name*. In such epistles the names of living persons frequently occur, who are referred to in terms of approval, or to whom no stigma is affixed. But in the epistles which may be called private letters, that is, which are neither catholic nor addressed to churches, individuals are mentioned by name who are blamed for misconduct. Terms of censure for persons whose name are not suppressed can be found in those letters which were evidently designed not to be read in public. Thus, Paul in writing to Timothy names with disapprobation Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. 1:20), Phygalus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. 1:15), Hymenæus and Philetus (2 Tim. 2:17), Demas (2 Tim. 4:10), Alexander, the coppersmith (2 Tim. 4:14), Onesimus (Philem. 11). So John, in his third epistle, which is addressed to Gaius, names Diotrephes as an evil-doer (v. 9). But in the epistles to communities, while offenders are freely rebuked, no one of them is specified by name," cf. 1 Cor. 5; 2 Cor. 1:5-10; also Rev. 2:20. In the latter passages the names Jezebel is "manifestly a symbolical, not a real, one."

"This characteristic, which we have indicated, makes it clear that the epistles addressed to individuals were intended solely for those who received them, and were not to be read in public. Who, indeed, could suppose Titus reading aloud to a congregation in Crete such a statement as we find in Titus 1:12, 13?"

"The point which I have made is not without apologetic value. It helps us to see the character of naturalness and reality which belongs to the epistles of the New Testament. If a forger could think of imparting such an appearance to fictitious letters, it would be necessary for the success of his trick that these marks of naturalness should readily strike the reader, and not escape the notice of the world for ages."

T. H. R.

Query Concerning καθήμενος in Matthew 4:16.—In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, Robert Dick Wilson of Allegheny, Pa., asks:

"Must *καθήμενος* in Matt. 4:16 be translated by sitting?" He makes the following points: There can be no question about the form in Isa. 9:1 from which this is a citation. The word there is *hol'khim*, "going." The various versions render by a word meaning "going"; e.g., the Syriac Peshito by a word meaning "who were going"; Aleph and B of the Septuagint by *πορευόμενος*; the Vulgate by "qui ambulabat." The question thus comes back on *καθήμενος* itself. May not this have been intended to mean "going?" It may be (1) a dialectic form (a) for *καθειμένος* from *καθίημι*. In the Æolic and Doric dialects η was used instead of ϵ (Kühner, § 201, 2). In the Alexandrine dialect η was frequently confounded with ϵ (Winer, N.T.Gr. § 5; Scriv. Introd. p. 159; Tisch. Proleg. § 28). Or it may be a dialectic form (b) for *καθέμενος*, second aorist middle participle from *καθίημι*. In the decline of the Greek language η and ϵ were confounded (Sophocles Dict. under η). This was a characteristic of Alexandrine Greek also (Scriv., Introd., p. 14; Winer. § 5).

But if it be not a dialectic form of writing, it may be (2) a scribal error. Forms from *κάθημαι* and forms from *καθίημι* may easily be confounded and changed by copyists. This is manifest in the Septuagint. Forms from *καθίημι* occur five times in the Vatican Septuagint. One of these times it is a translation of the verb *haya*, "to be," and another time of *yashabh* "to sit" (of Jer. 32:5 and Zech. 6:13). "Since in Ex. 24:18 A has *κάθημαι* as a rendering of *haya*, a rendering which is confirmed by the Ethiopic *nabara*, 'he dwelt,' or 'stayed,' there can be no doubt that *haya* could at times be rendered by *κάθημαι*; and, if so, it follows that in Jer. 32:5, as well as in Zech. 6:13, the translators had used *κάθημαι*, and that copyists had afterwards corrupted the text into *καθίημι*. In conclusion,—

"Do not the above facts afford some basis for the conjecture that the composers of the Greek of Matthew may not have written 'sitting' for 'going,' but that we have here either an erroneous spelling or a dialectic form of a second aorist or perfect participle from *καθίημι*, making an unparalleled but perfectly allowable rendering of *halakh*, 'to go?'"

This is possible. But the whole passage (vs. 15, 16) is a very free rendering of the original—vs. 15, rather, is an adaptation—and it seems more probable that the *καθήμενος* of the first clause of vs. 16 is an unconscious assimilation on the part of the writer to the corresponding word of the following clause, which he renders *καθημενοις*, "to them which sat." T. H. R.

Dr. Sanday on Biblical Criticism.—In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October Dr. Warfield of Princeton gives a brief review of Dr. Sanday's recent book, entitled, *Two Present-Day Questions*: I. Biblical Criticism. II. The Social Movement. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. 12mo. Pp. 72. (London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1892). Dr. Warfield writes: "Dr. Sanday has chosen the subjects of

his Cambridge sermons with his usual insight, and has spoken on them with his usual wisdom. He sees the danger, attending the two movements of which he speaks, of what he calls 'premature solutions,' and raises his voice to counsel caution. 'It seems to me, if I am not mistaken, that just at the present moment one of the greatest dangers to which Christian opinion is exposed, and that at once in each of the two most important branches of it which I have named, is of a premature insistence upon partial and insufficiently tested solutions of those questions and difficulties with which the inquirer is confronted' (p. 19). It is becoming in a critical student of the New Testament—the history of the critical investigation of which has so much more rapidly run through its pages—to remind Old Testament students of what experience has taught in the sister-sphere: 'When we think of the lessons which the criticism of the New Testament may suggest to the student of the Old, we cannot help being reminded that scarcely one of the discoveries of recent years has not had for its tendency to bring back the course of criticism into paths nearer to those marked out by tradition' (p. 37). Nor could such a warning be delivered anywhere with better grace than in that Cambridge, where so splendid an example of independent research and calm and instructed judgment has been set by that great trio of New Testament and patristic scholars, of whom only one, alas, is left to us now. We do not think as well of the presently popular school of Old Testament criticism as Dr. Sanday seems to do. We could not call their work, even at Cambridge, 'circumspect.' But it is all the more significant that even from so sympathetic a standpoint as the one which he occupies, he feels the need of these words of caution. . . . The right and duty of criticism certainly needs no defense; but a right to crude, hasty, ill-considered, borrowed criticism can never be made good."

T. H. R.

Dr. Sanday on the Old Testament.—The subject of the Bampton Lectures for 1893, delivered some time since at Oxford by Professor Sanday, was "The Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration." The *Andover Review* for July-August, in its editorial department, gives a brief summary of their contents, with occasional quotations. "Dr. Sanday's theme," states the editorial, "is now engaging attention as never before, and he is exceptionally qualified to present it. His lectures are of the nature of a report, drawn up by a competent hand, of what modern scholarship is doing to show how the Bible has gained its place of distinctive authority, and what is the nature of this authority as thus revealed." Of the eight lectures forming the series, the first deals with the conception of the New-Testament canon. The second deals with that of the Old Testament—"not the collection of its books or parts, but the inner process of its construction," and in the fifth the genesis of the New Testament is taken up. The last lecture is a review and summary of all.

This last lecture "states clearly the difference between the traditional and the inductive theories of inspiration, and claims that the latter finds in the sacred writings a no less real inspiration than the former. Indeed, the impression of reality is deepened, since the inspiration is seen to be vital and organic. The chief difference relates to the historical books, which, as narratives simply, "do not seem to be exempted from possibilities of error." The whole question is taken up into the larger one of the method of divine revelation.

At the close of the second lecture, Dr. Sanday states "the attitude which he believes that a conscientious inquirer, who is not a specialist, should take towards Old Testament criticism." He says: "Such an one, I cannot help thinking, will feel that the case for what is called the critical view of the Old Testament comes to him with great force. In England, until quite lately, although we have had critical commentaries and monographs on portions of the Old Testament, we had not had any complete and connected presentation of the critical theory as a whole. This we now have, for the literature, in Dr. Driver's well-known Introduction, and for history and literature combined in the Hibbert Lectures for last year,—a book which, though quite uncompromising in its criticism, wins upon us, not only by the charm of an attractive style, but by its evident candor and by the glow of genuine enthusiasm with which it is pervaded. When we turn from these to the leaders of Continental opinion, Kuenen and Wellhausen, and compare their writings with those which maintain either the traditional views, or a view but slightly modified from the traditional, it is impossible to resist the impression that the critical argument is in the stronger hands, and that it is accompanied by a far greater command of the materials. The cause of criticism, if we take the word in a wide sense and do not identify it too closely with any particular theory, is, it is difficult to doubt, the winning cause. Indeed, criticism is only the process by which theological knowledge is brought into line with other knowledge; and as such it is inevitable. And yet I cannot but think that the open-minded inquirer who retains his balance, and is not simply carried off his feet by the set of the current, will not be able to avoid a suspicion that there is, after all, especially in the way in which the critical case is presented on the Continent, something essentially one-sided. Kuenen wrote in the interest of almost avowed naturalism, and much the same may be said of Wellhausen. But to do so is to come to the Bible with a prejudice, just as much as in the case of those who come to it with the determination to find in it nothing but supernaturalism. Both alike are apt to force their views upon the Bible instead of being content to take them from it.'

'In speaking of critical theories of the Old Testament the layman may wish to be reminded what the crucial points in these are. Two may be described as general and two as particular. The general points are (1), the untrustworthy character of Jewish traditions as to authorship unless confirmed by internal evidence; they are not, in fact, traditions in the strict sense at all,

but only inferences and conjectures without historical basis; (2) the composite character of very many of the books,—the historical books, consisting, for the most part, of material more or less ancient, set in a frame-work of later editing; some of the prophetical books containing, as we now have them, the work of several distinct authors bound up in a single volume; and books like the Psalms and Proverbs, also not being all of a piece, but made up of a number of minor collections only brought together by slow degrees. Two particular conclusions are of special importance; (1) the presence in the Pentateuch of a considerable element which, in its present shape, is held by many to be not earlier than the Captivity; and (2) the composition of the book of Deuteronomy not long, or at least not very long, before its promulgation by King Josiah in the year 621, which thus becomes a pivot-date in the history of Hebrew literature. To these positions, thus broadly stated, I must, so far as my present judgment goes, confess my own adhesion. But the working out of them has not deprived the Old Testament of any of its value. On the contrary, stumbling blocks have been removed; a far more vivid and more real apprehension of the Old Testament, both as history and religion, has been obtained; and, as I also hope to be able to show, the old conviction that we have in it a revelation from God to men, is not only unimpaired but placed upon firm foundations."

T. H. R.

Electives in Theological Seminaries.—In the *Hartford Seminary Record* for August Professor Arthur L. Gillett has a valuable article on this subject. After showing the difference between the two ideals of education represented by the college and the university respectively, and pointing out the value and the place of each in a developed educational system, he goes on to say: "It is to be recognized, first of all, that theological education is essentially university education. It is dominated by the university, as distinct from the college idea. Its aim is not general, but special capacity for achievement. . . . What then is it to be a minister? A couple of generations ago this was an easy question to answer." Professor Gillett gives a brief and interesting sketch of a New England pastor of a generation ago, and continues: "He filled the place he was called to occupy, and filled it well. He was trained for such a service, and was well trained. The theological schools of New England were founded and their courses of study were adopted with a view to training New England pastors. Their graduates looked toward a ministry amid a homogeneous people in parishes of unequal size but of similar constituency, governed by similar motives and living lives essentially alike. The training for one was suitable for all. Sound indoctrination, reasonably studious habits, a broad general culture and a sound sagacity, supplied the essential pre-requisites of successful work. The theological school remained a theological college rather than a theological university in its dominating idea. This may be said to be essentially true of all the theological schools, from that consisting of one student in a pastor's study down to the Andover

of Professor Park's prime." A great change, however, has come about within a generation. The demands made upon the ministry now are much more varied. Very many different kinds of work are to be done, requiring men of diverse types with diverse qualifications. The Seminary must offer a broader range of studies from which the student may choose, according to his own individual needs, and the sort of work he wishes to do.

Professor Gillett sketches the development of the elective system at Oberlin and Andover Seminaries, and states of Oberlin: "If the student is to take the degree B.D., he must, in the course of three years, have taken 1,280 hours of lectures. Of these 582 hours are in prescribed lectures, though the time at which these prescribed lectures must be attended is not fixed. Including elective and prescribed work, there are offered to the student a total of 2,080 hours of lectures, leaving a balance of 802, which no graduate need have taken. This leaves a wide margin of choice. . . . In ten years the teaching force has been increased from six to eleven regular instructors, besides various lecturers and tutors." Of Andover he says: "In Andover the total hours which must be attended in three years in order to graduate is 1,224, somewhat less than in Oberlin, but in Andover the total of hours does not include those given to vocal culture, etc. In Oberlin it does, making the totals about the same. The number of hours of prescribed work is 884, that of elective work 340. The total number of elective hours offered the student during his course is 680, giving, as before, a generous margin of electives not chosen. Andover offers no English or Slavic course, which should be borne in mind in comparing the electives offered by the two institutions. Andover first introduced electives in the year 1890-91. . . . It will be observed, however, that the two seminaries has substantially the same goal before them, namely, that of enriching the possibilities of varied training for the student, that each felt that it had special problems set before it to solve. Both found the solution in an elective system. There have been two distinctive cries as to what should be done with the theological course. One has been, 'shorten it; it is too long to be practical.' The other has been, 'lengthen it; it is too short to be scholarly.' Oberlin was influenced chiefly by the first; Andover, by the second. Both, by the introduction of electives, have found it possible to meet the demands. But Oberlin, while it has attained, through the elective system, a higher practicability, has also reached a higher scholarship, and Andover, while it has become more scholarly, has attained to a higher practicality."

After speaking of the development of the elective systems in Chicago and Hartford Seminaries, and referring to Yale, Princeton and Union, Professor Gillett concludes: "It will thus be observed that the whole drift of our theological education is toward leaving the subjects of study more and more to the choice of the individual theological student. The elective system is meeting the demands of students, and it alone has proved able to do this. The West leads the East in this matter, but the East closely follows.

Difference in location, difference in emphasis on the kind of theological work done,—these and other conditions will modify the balance of the course, as it is planned in different institutions. But the work is becoming increasingly elective, and it will continue to become more and more so. This must be, because of the increasingly complex conditions and opportunities of successful ministration. This must be, because the church will not long refuse to learn the lesson of success which the experience of every other department of successful endeavor is teaching it."

T. H. R.

Work and Workers.

REV. PROFESSOR PHILIP A. NORDELL, D.D., Associate Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago, and Assistant Editor of this journal, has resigned his position in the University and on our editorial board, to engage in editorial work in connection with the well-known system of Sunday School lessons, issued in Boston under the general editorship of Rev. E. Blakeslee. Dr. Nordell's new work is of course closely akin in character and aim with that in which he was engaged in Chicago, and is one for which his scholarship and literary skill admirably fit him.

MR. IRVING F. WOOD, A.M., B.D., has also resigned his connection with the University of Chicago and the editorial work of this journal, and has become Associate Professor of Ethics and Biblical Literature in Smith College. Mr. Wood has devoted himself for some years to the two lines of work indicated in the title of the professorship at Smith. Both Dr. Nordell and Mr. Wood carry with them to their new work the cordial regard of their former associates.

REV. W. MUSS-ARNOLT, Ph.D., formerly Instructor in New Testament Greek at the Johns Hopkins University, and more recently Assistant Professor of Semitics and Hellenistic Greek at the University of Michigan, has accepted the position of Instructor in Biblical and Patristic Greek in the University of Chicago. Dr. Arnolt is well known among classical and biblical scholars by his contributions to the journals in these departments of study, and the *BIBLICAL WORLD* is happy to add his name to the list of its editorial force.

DR. WILLIAM SANDAY, whom we quote under Notes and Opinions, has held the Dean Ireland Professorship of Exegesis at Oxford since 1882. His published works are: Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel, 1872; The Gospels in the Second Century, 1876; Commentaries on Romans and Galatians, 1878. He is also the author of Oracles of God, 1891, and of various reviews and encyclopaedia articles.

THE recent death of Professor Benjamin Jowett, LL.D., removes one of the most eminent of the classical scholars of England. Since 1855 he has held the Regius Professorship of Greek at Oxford, and since 1870 the Mastership of Balliol College. He is the author of the work styled St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans. His most eminent service, however, has been his translation of the Dialogues of Plato, four volumes, 1871; second edition, five volumes, 1875; third edition, 1892. Of this work

Dr. C. C. Everett, of Cambridge, in the *New World* for September, 1892, writes as follows: "The translation itself, which has given its chief value to each edition, needs, after these twenty years, no introduction. Plato is more than any other the literary philosopher. He is poet, dramatist, and romancer. Of all philosophers, he most demands that every version that is made of him should possess literary excellence. We cannot be too grateful to Professor Jowett for having given Plato a position in English literature." We read, rejoicing in the presentation, and, except in passages where our English speech is inadequate, hardly realizing that what we read is not the original form of the work. . . . There are, probably, every year, proportionally to the increase of general readers and students, fewer that are fitted to enjoy Plato in the original, while every year there are more that are fitted to enjoy his thought. Greek is studied less; philosophy is studied more. This being so, every year must bring a greater demand for this charming translation."

THE International Series of Sunday School Lessons has recently completed its third course of seven years. In an article in the Hartford *Seminary Record* for August, entitled Twenty-One Years of International Lessons, Rev. Stephen G. Barnes, Ph.D., reviews the plan of the system and its methods.

THE Christian Woman's Board of Missions, located at Indianapolis, Ind., has undertaken the establishment and endowment of certain Chairs of Biblical and Religious instruction in Ann Arbor, in connection with the work of the church, inaugurated under the direction of the same board. Provisions have been made for two such chairs for the present year.

The instruction to be offered is intended (1) for students of the University who desire to pursue studies in Biblical Literature; (2) for young men and women preparing for religious work; (3) for Sunday School teachers and students, and Christian workers, whether connected with the University or not.

The courses of study are: History of Israel, Prophecy, Hebrew Psalmody, The Life of Christ, The Apostolic Church, Paul and the Epistles, Religious Movements in America, Methods of Christian Work, and also a series of lectures covering such subjects as Evidences of Christianity, Missions and Missionaries, etc.

The instructors are: Herbert L. Willett, A.B., Bethany College, 1886; A.M., 1887; Graduate Student, Yale University, 1890-91; Pastor, Dayton, Ohio, 1887-93; Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, Bethany College, 1892-93; Graduate Student, University of Chicago, 1893.

Clinton Lockhart, A.B., Kentucky University, 1888; A.M., 1889; Graduate Student, Yale University, 1890-91; Pastor, Cynthiana, Ky., 1891; President Columbia College, Ky., 1892-93; Superintendent American Institute of Sacred Literature for the Disciples of Christ.

The work outlined above may be taken by correspondence. A limited number of Institutes will be held by the instructors during the year.

WE note the following from the *Independent*: During the past term the Universities of Germany had a total attendance of 3,569 Protestant theological students. Berlin no longer leads, having been outranked by Halle, which, as it did in the days of Tholuck, attracts the greatest number of theologues, having now 580. Berlin follows with 457; Greifswald, with 281; Göttingen, with 156; Marburg, with 154; Königsberg, with 132; Breslau, with 131; Bonn, with 101; Kiel, with 87. This makes a total of 2,079 for the nine Prussian universities. At the eight non-Prussian schools of the prophets the attendance was as follows: Leipzig, 412; Tübingen, 362; Erlangen, 327; Strassberg, 101; Jena, 88; Giessen, 74; Heidelberg, 75; Rostock, 51, making a total of 1,490. The German Swiss universities have the following number of Protestant theologues: Basel, 109; Zürich, 42; Bern, 38, making a grand total for all the German universities of 3,749.

*FOR the interest of our readers we give the following valuable condensed statement from the June *Biblia* concerning the Palestine Exploration Fund, its purpose and work :

A society for the accurate and systematic investigation of the Archæology, the Topography, the Geology and Physical Geography, the Manners and Customs of the Holy Land, for Biblical Illustration.

This Society was founded on June 22, 1865. It was established on the basis of the following rules :

1. It was not to be a religious society. That is to say, it should not be pledged to advocate or attack any form of creed or doctrine.
2. It was not to adopt or to defend any side in controversial matters.
3. It was to be conducted on strictly scientific principles.

These rules have been jealously guarded.

The best guarantee of the accuracy of the work done is found in the names and positions of the officers who have carried it out, and the travelers who have sent their observations to the Committee. Among them are Col. Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., LL.D., R.E. (the surveyor of Jerusalem and Sinai); Col. Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E. (who conducted the excavations of Jerusalem); Major Conder, R.E. (surveyor of Western Palestine and of the East Country, unfinished); Lieut.-Col. Kitchener, C.M.G., R.E. (surveyor with Major Conder); the late Major Anderson, C.M.G., R.E.; Canon Tristram, F.R.S.; Dr. Selah Merrill, of Andover, Mass., etc.

Although the Society is not a religious society, strictly so-called, its work necessarily possesses unusual interest for Bible Students, and its chief supporters are found among ministers of all denominations, who see in the result of the explorations many confirmations of the truth of Scripture.

In the course of its twenty-five years' existence, the Society, with limited

*This should have been published in the September number instead of the statement of the Egyptian Fund. In the fourth line of the latter, August would then have read September.

funds at its disposal, has done an immense amount of work, and published the result in books, papers, maps, plans and photographs, primarily for the benefit of its subscribers, and also for the advantage of all students of the Sacred Scriptures.

Among its chief operations may be enumerated the following :

1. *Excavations at Jerusalem.*—These were conducted by Sir Charles Warren, and had very remarkable results. Jerusalem is now proved to be, to a great extent, a buried city, and the ancient foundations are, in some places, a hundred feet underground. The walls of the Temple enclosure have been examined down to the foundations, and the original masons' marks found upon them. The contours of the rock, showing how the city was situated before the valleys were filled up, have been ascertained. In consequence of these and other discoveries, many questions of the topography relating to the city, and all Bible references to locality, are now viewed in an entirely new light.

2. *The Recovery of the Synagogue of Galilee, by Sir Charles Wilson.*—Ruins of many of these structures still stand in Galilee. They have all been planned and sketched, and are found to be of considerable architectural pretensions. As one consequence of this work, the building in which Christ taught the people could now be reconstructed.

3. *The Survey of Western Palestine.*—This work, occupying ten years in all, was carried out by Major Conder and Lieut.-Col. Kitchener. Before it was undertaken, many parts of Palestine were a *terra incognita*. Some names were filled in conjecturally, and 360 Scripture places remained unknown. But now we possess a map, on the scale of one square inch to the square mile, as beautifully and accurately executed as the Ordnance Map of England. In the course of the Survey, 172 of the missing biblical sites were recovered and fixed.

4. *The Archaeological Work of M. Clermont-Ganneau.*—Among the illustrations of the Bible furnished by this learned archæologist may be mentioned the discovery of the stone Zohelleth, the inscription at Tell-Jezer (Gezer), the inscribed stone of Herod's temple, the "Vase of Bezetha," the ancient Jewish cemeteries at Jerusalem and Jaffa, etc. The famous Moabite Stone, the inscribed stone at the Pool of Siloam, the Hamath inscriptions, and the cromlechs and dolmens of Moab are additional archæological discoveries of incomparable importance, due to other explorers. Casts and drawings of these may be seen in the collection of the Fund.

5. *The Geological Survey of Palestine by Professor E. Hull.*—The Geological facts here brought forward throw new light on the route of the Exodus, and afford conclusive proof that the Cities of the Plain are not under the Dead Sea.

These paragraphs will give the reader some little—very little—idea of the Sociétés' work of the past. Before us lies work not less important.

6. *Excavations at Jerusalem* are carried on from time to time as oppor-

tunity permits, and recorded in the *Quarterly Statement*, as also are all discoveries made during alterations in and outside the city.

7. *The Survey on the East of Jordan*, where scores of Scripture sites remain to be fixed, and where the country is even more thickly strewn with ruins than on the western side, is to be resumed when permission can be obtained. It was amid the ruins of Dibon, by the brook Arnon, that the Moabite Stone was found in 1868, and at Amman Major Conder discovered the Sassanian Monument, which is described in his book, "Heth and Moab," as well as an immense number of rude stone monuments. It is confidently believed that a complete survey of this region would lead to very important discoveries.

8. *Inquiry into Manners and Customs, Proverbs, Legends, Traditions, etc.* — . . . No inquiry of the sort has ever been carried out systematically over the entire country. The committee have made arrangements for conducting a scientific examination into all these points by means of questions drawn up with the assistance of the President of the Archaeological Society, the Director of the Folk Lore Society, the Secretary of the Bible Society, and others.

It cannot be too strongly urged that no time should be lost in pursuing the explorations, for the vandalism of the East and the newly-imported civilization of the West, together, are fast destroying whatever records of the past lie exposed.

All subscriptions for the Palestine Exploration Fund should be sent to Professor Theodore F. Wright, 42 Quincy street, Cambridge, Mass., Honorary Secretary of the Fund in the United States, and from whom all circulars and other information in regard to the Fund can be obtained.

1. Subscribers of five dollars a year are entitled to receive—

- (1) Post free the *Quarterly Statement*, which is the journal of the Society, and contains the reports of work done by its agents, and a record of all discoveries made in the Holy Land.
- (2) The maps published by the Society at a greatly reduced price.
- (3) Post free on application, a copy of the following works:
Schumacher's "Pella, the First Retreat of the Christians."
Schumacher's "Ajlûn 'Within the Decapolis.'"
- (4) Copies of the other books issued by the Society at reduced prices.

2. Subscribers of \$2.50 annually receive the *Quarterly Statement* free, and are entitled to the books and maps at reduced prices.

Book Reviews.

The Book of Job. By ROBERT A. WATSON, D.D., in the Series of The Expositor's Bible, edited by the REV. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. 416. Price \$2.

There has been quite a difference in the relative value of the volumes of this series. Some have been very good ; some, it is necessary to say, very bad. The present volume cannot be said to belong to either of these classes, since it occupies a middle ground.

The first chapter, upon "The Author and his Work" contains many interesting comparisons. The writer sees in the early Akkadian Psalms precursors of Job. With all the writers of modern times, he gives up the traditional Mosaic or pre-Mosaic age, and while he recognizes the picture as one mainly of patriarchal life, the surroundings of the writer are found to furnish the elements of the picture. "No quiet patriarchal life in a region sparsely peopled, where the year went slow and placid, could have supplied these elements. The writer has seen the ways of the great city in which the tide of prosperity flows over the crushed and dying. He has seen, and indeed we are almost sure has suffered in some national disaster like those to which he refers,—a Hebrew not of the age after the return from exile, for the style of his writing, partly through the use of the Arabic and Aramaic form has more of rude vigor and spontaneity than finds so late a date. He appears to have felt all the sorrows of his people when the conquering armies of Assyria or of Babylon overran their land. The elaborate scheme of the book indicates that it could not have been produced until literature had become an art. A comparison with Proverbs, Isaiah and Ecclesiastes also assists in determining the date. The writer lived at a time when the creed of Hebraism had ceased to guide thought and lead the soul to strength." He, himself, supposed to be an exile of the northern kingdom, escaping with his life from the sword of the Assyrian and taking his way into the Arabian wilderness, finds the friendship of some chief and a safe retreat among his people. "The desert has become familiar to him, the sandy wastes, the vivid oases, the fierce storm and affluent sunshine, the villages, the patriarchal customs, of olden times. He has traveled through Idumaea and seen the desert tombs, and to Midian and its lonely peaks. He has heard the roll of the great sea on the sands of the Shephelah, and seen the vast tide of the Nile flowing through the verdure of the Delta, and past the pyramids of Memphis. He has wandered through the cities of Egypt and viewed their teeming life, turning to the use of imagination and religion all he beheld with a relish for his own language, yet

enriching it by the words and ideas of all other lands. He has practised himself in the writer's art, and at length in some hour of burning memory and experience he has caught the history of one who, yonder in the valley of an eastern wilderness, knew the shocks of time and pain, though his heart was right with God; and in the height of his spirit the poet-exile makes the story of that life into a drama of the trial of human faith, his own endurance and vindication and hope."

In spite of this plausible presentation the arguments presented against the theory advocated by Davidson, Cheyne and others, namely, that the book belongs to the exilic period, are not satisfactory. One can easily imagine that the chapters of this book, if ever preached as sermons, would produce a strong effect. The writer's power of description is excellent, his discrimination is generally to be commended. There is an element of the mystical in the interpretations presented, and one must confess a feeling of disappointment in the treatment which is accorded many of the most difficult passages. The Elihu passages are treated as a later interpolation in a poem which has come down from a previous age. The presentation of this theory is very satisfactory. As a contribution to our knowledge of the Book of Job, the book contains nothing; as, on the other hand, a presentation in popular form of many of the latest results of scholarly investigation, it may well be commended.

W. R. H.

The Bible Verified. By REV. ANDREW W. ARCHIBALD, with an introductory note by PROFESSOR RANSOM B. WELCH. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 1-252. Price, 75 cents.

The writer has in these chapters discussed, without any claim to originality, some of the present living questions. His position, as stated in the preface, is strongly conservative. Among the subjects discussed are, "What constitutes the Bible," "The Bible in manuscript," "The inspiration of the Bible," "The Bible and the miraculous," "Formidable objections to the Bible," "Incidental confirmations of the Bible," "The Bible and science," "The elevating influence of the Bible," "The Bible and the golden city of Babylon," "The Bible and the destruction of Jerusalem," "The Bible and the peculiar Jews," "The Bible and the monuments." The present effort is made for those who have not been able to give these questions much thought, and must therefore be criticised from this point of view. In all such efforts the principle of accommodation must rule. It is manifestly impossible for a writer, however much he may know under such circumstances, to present all the facts necessary to secure a basis for an intelligent opinion. Still further, it is necessary in such work to emphasize the constructive side. Difficulties may not be introduced. Our writer shows his method very clearly in treating of the Bible and the monuments, when he says, "For our present purpose of simply opening up this boundless field of investigation it is sufficient to note the positive confirmations being given by the very stones to the holy oracles." The same

method shows itself in the treatment of almost every subject. In the discussion of the canon, nothing is said in reference to the difference of opinion and the discussion touching the canonicity of such books as Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon.

In his treatment of inspiration, the following points are made: (1) The scriptural representations contained in such statements as "Thus saith the Lord," "Moved by the Holy Ghost," "The Commandment of the Lord," show the claim of the authors themselves. (2) The ability of the biblical writer to preface his words with such statements as those just quoted, is a proof of inspiration. "All God's people are inspired in a certain way, but divine authority is only given to those who can utter words breathed from an inspiration which is supernatural." The writer evidently forgets that it was and is an oriental habit to preface the most ordinary as well as the most important of statements with some such expressions as "Thus saith the Lord." (3) Inspiration is supernatural but not always a process of dictation. The faculties of the writers were not generally overpowered with the divine, so much as they were stimulated and exalted. A distinction is to be made between the inspiration of revelation and of elevation. Individuality in the Bible is not suppressed; the inspiration of the writer was not automatic, but pervasive and energizing. (4) There were different degrees of inspiration, yet even the commonplace parts of the Scriptures are to be regarded as inspired unless inspiration is to be taken as a kind of fit. (5) New Testament writers may have made a wrong quotation, the Old Testament writers may have shared the false astronomical notions of their contemporaries, and yet the reliability of the biblical authors would not be affected.

In the chapter on the Bible and Science, the writer follows quite slavishly Professors Dana, Guyot, and Principal Dawson. He shows that the word "day" may without difficulty be interpreted "period." He does not, however, recognize the fact that the writer of the narrative, and all who read the narrative for thousands of years, understood by the term a period of "twenty-four hours." Professor Dana's forced and unnatural interpretation of the 14th verse is adopted and commented upon as a case of wonderful exactness of language. The phrase is, "God made two great lights;" the interpretation is that he made them to *appear*, the interpreter forgetting, it would seem, that elsewhere in the chapter where the writer wished to express this idea, he used the word "appear." If there is such a thing as jugglery in the use of words, we have here an instance of it.

The writer's theory of prophecy, so far as the book presents it, is the old theory of literal fulfilment. He goes so far as to hint that the prophecies concerning the restoration of the Jews are to be fulfilled in the literal restoration to Palestine. He dwells largely upon the minute correspondences, forgetting here that the Old Testament statements were poetical, and that in any prediction of destruction, the destruction of walls and houses must necessarily be included.

The writer of this review has met persons who have been benefited by a reading of this book. It is perhaps as good a treatment of the subject from the conservative point of view as could be presented in sermonic form, and in the space allowed. Such books, however, are likely to do harm in the hands of one who is inclined to be critical. The speciousness of some of the arguments will surely be discovered.

W. R. H.

Current Literature.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Books and Pamphlets.

Der Unglaube Israels auf dem Wege vom roten Meere zum Sinai. By Otto Stockmayer. Basel: Jaeger, 1893. M. 1.40.

Einleitung in den Hexateuch: Mit Tabellen über den Quellenscheidung. By Dr. H. Holzinger. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1893. M. 15.

Exegesis of the Pentateuch of Moses. Also, Studies in the Addresses of Isaiah. By H. W. Warren, D.D. New York: Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893. 40c.

Die wichtigsten Sätze der neueren alttestamentlichen Kritik, vom Standpunkte der Propheten Amos und Hosea aus betrachtet. Ein Beitrag zum Schriftverständniss. By Hermann Billeb. Halle a. S.: Anton, 1893. M. 3.

The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded. By Prof. M. S. Terry, S.T.D. New York: Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893.

Biblia Innocentium. Being the story of God's chosen people before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ upon the earth. Written anew for children. By J. W. Mackail. London: Reeves. 6s.

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ONE may sometimes talk about himself and not be egotistic. There are occasions, indeed, when talk about one's self is not only proper but desirable. There is, moreover, less danger when the "self" is not an individual. THE BIBLICAL WORLD believes that in this, the last number of the current year, the last number likewise of its first year as reorganized, it may familiarly speak of its past, its present and its future. Should any one take exception, it begs leave to cite as precedent the example of many able journals. That it has a purpose in entering upon this easy chat with its constituency, no one will doubt. What is that purpose? To tell its friends something of the "inside", which perhaps many of them have already learned from a perusal of its contents month after month; to gain the closer sympathy and the more active assistance of these same friends, who, in any aid which they may render, will help not only THE BIBLICAL WORLD, but also the world at large.

NO ONE will deny that the past ten years have been years of wonderful significance in the history and development of biblical study. It will be remembered that during these years the study of the English Bible has received a place in the curriculum of our colleges never before accorded it. The young men who leave our theological seminaries are no longer wholly ignorant

of the form and structure of the books which are the foundation of all their work. Schools for the study of the Bible have been established in a multitude of places. Many of our largest cities have been stirred as never before by the scientific exposition of portions of sacred Scripture. Agencies of various kinds have been set at work to dignify and magnify the work of Bible study. The people in general have come to possess ideas about the Bible more intelligent, more reasonable, and consequently more wise and effective than hitherto had been held. Many of our most talented young men have been led in the providence of God to adopt "a new calling"—that of Bible teaching. Contributions have appeared on every side which render possible a better and truer comprehension of the scope and purpose of the sacred books. New methods of study have been introduced which, though not reactionary, have changed most radically the character of the work which we are now doing and which we are to do in the future. New foundations have been laid on which a stronger and more lasting superstructure may be reared than would otherwise have been possible. With all this work, THE BIBLICAL WORLD, under the various names which in its development it has assumed, may surely claim to have been closely identified. Modesty suggests caution at this point; but with all due modesty, it may be claimed that *The Student* in former years, THE BIBLICAL WORLD of to-day, has led thousands and thousands of men and women to a larger and better comprehension of sacred truth, has inspired many persons to work and strive for higher things, and has aided many a troubled soul which found itself in the midst of doubt and difficulty. Some will ask, What evidence have we that this claim is well founded? And we answer: The evidence of this is seen in the letters from every part of the world which hundreds of subscribers are continually sending; in the appreciation shown by the religious and secular press of this country and other countries in the use made of the material published from time to time; in the kindly words and friendly hand-grasps—for THE BIBLICAL WORLD has hands that may be shaken—received on every possible occasion. In a single day, one just beginning the work of study and investiga-

tion makes words of inquiry and requests for aid; a teacher indicates cordial appreciation of this or that suggestion which had been adopted with great advantage; a brother, old in years and of mature wisdom, writes expressing gratification that there is an instrument ready and able to render valuable assistance in so important a cause. Is it egotistical to say this? Very well, let it be so regarded.

THE WORK of the journal in the past has been, it is believed, a helpful one. Its work has also been consistent. The interests of truth are never conserved by a policy of repression; most surely does this statement hold good of everything that relates to the Bible. On the other hand, that spirit which seeks to destroy, which takes away the old without substituting for it something better, is even worse than devilish. To refuse to be identified with either the one or the other of these tendencies undoubtedly subjects one to suspicion on the part of those who are themselves already committed. From the beginning a policy of steady adherence to the great truths most commonly accepted has been maintained, but at the same time there has been exhibited an openness to consider new presentations of truth. We challenge any one to discover at any point the slightest indication of the destructive spirit. There has been no vacillation from one side to the other; there has been no attempt to startle or confound. The effort at all times has been to adopt the judicial point of view rather than that of the advocate. The desire has been not to furnish opinions which others might accept, but rather to aid those who were desirous of our aid in formulating opinions for themselves. Here we are compelled to confess that mistakes have been made. Statements have gone forth which were not sufficiently guarded, and which consequently have conveyed a meaning not intended; but human speech in its best form is inadequate at all times to express one's thoughts. THE WORLD congratulates itself, with modesty of course, that its mistakes have not been more numerous. So much for the past, which, in spite of everything, is known to have been helpful to many and in the main consistent.

THE PRESENT, in the midst of which our work moves along, is, at all events, as critical as any other present through which we have passed. Is it not perhaps more critical? How so? (1) Because of the restlessness which seems to characterize all mental and particularly all theological activity. Are we sure of the foundations upon which we have been building? (2) Because of the many new factors which are all the time being introduced; factors which demand recognition, and which, when recognized, require readjustment on every side. (3) Because of the new methods now coming into vogue, methods which have proven false much that was supposed to be true and have disclosed so much of the new as to render them suspicious. Is a crash coming? A breaking up of the beliefs of the past, with no certain and definite basis on which to rest our faith? So the alarmist would have us believe. *It is not true.* Our present is but a repetition of a thousand presents that have passed. It is our duty, as it is our privilege, to adopt the policy of the great teachers whose words and lives have during historic times guided humanity. What policy was this? That of progressive conservatism; a spirit of progressiveness which made it impossible to be satisfied with the past and which presented an ideal far in advance of the present; a spirit of conservatism on the other hand which compelled a degree of accommodation to the situation in which each found himself, and which prevented, at least in a majority of cases, radical change and open rupture. It is not always a revolutionary spirit that accomplishes most. It is with this spirit of progressive conservatism that THE WORLD takes up again the work which has fallen to it.

SINCE the future is always becoming the present, it is the policy of the future rather than that of the present which should be outlined. Here our good friends will allow us to be more specific, even though we may utter that which shall never be realized. What now is it that we wish to accomplish? How shall we proceed, and in what spirit shall we undertake the work?

IN spite of the progress already made, the ignorance of Bible thought and Bible truth is amazing. In intellectual circles comparatively high, the Bible is a book unknown and consequently lightly estimated. From the better class of our educational institutions we are now sending forth men with a respectable equipment in this department of learning. They go forth, and so strong is the prejudice against new light, so dense the ignorance of what scholarship has demonstrated beyond a doubt, that the men sent forth to uplift are dragged down and, after a few years of fruitless effort, accept the position of those whom they should have lifted up, having lost all hope of accomplishing the mission assigned them by God himself. What, then, is the difficulty? That to-day the average man and woman who accepts the Bible refuses to do that which will enable him or her to grow in the knowledge of the truth which it contains. What is the remedy? An earnest effort on the part of those whom a kind Providence has permitted to make progress in these lines to reach the thousands and millions who need to be reached in order that the condition of things may be changed. Who may do this work? Those who, after careful and patient work, have gained a comprehension of its magnitude and the proper knowledge of the great truths revealed. Who are the Bible teachers from whom to-day the masses receive their instruction? For the most part men and women who have no knowledge of the Bible, whose work, in too many cases, alas! is more hurtful than helpful, whose ignorance is only less than that of those whom they profess to teach. The real difficulty has been that the men and women trained by education and by special study for this work have grown away from the work itself. They have forgotten the great responsibility which rests upon them because of the opportunities which have permitted them thus to gain, to this or that extent, a true knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. The scholar refuses to follow the example of the great Teacher who was willing to accommodate himself to the multitude in order that they might receive instruction in a form in which it could be understood by them. Does this mean that we must make our work more popular? Yes. For the

learned there are many means of intercommunication. The people have been forgotten except by those who, in the nature of things, could not help them. THE BIBLICAL WORLD will in the future adapt itself to a broader constituency; but in doing this it will maintain the scholarly spirit which it is believed has thus far characterized it. This new adaptation will require changes. These changes, however, will not be of a nature to make the journal less valuable to its present constituency.

FOR the details of the work proposed, our friends are referred to the prospectus published in another place. The new features there announced will indicate in some degree our plans for the coming volumes. The scope will be broader; less of the technical will be introduced, there being an opportunity for the publication of this material in that other journal, *Hebraica*, which may perhaps be called the sister of THE BIBLICAL WORLD,—a sister more sedate, more technical. In a word, THE WORLD will be more popular in matter and in form than it has been hitherto. In this way its influence may be extended, and a work accomplished which to-day no one has undertaken. The spirit will be the same,—that of loyalty to the truth. This means little perhaps because it is a spirit which everyone professes. Time, however, will show to those most interested, and to those best capable of passing judgment, whether the claim of the WORLD to the exercise of this spirit is well grounded.

IN CONCLUSION, we beg permission to ask that which is the test of every close relationship. If our friends feel themselves drawn toward THE BIBLICAL WORLD, if the purpose is one which commends itself to them, if they approve the policy, if the cause represented is a cause which appeals to them, will they not *help us*? How? In many ways known to them as well as to us, and which we leave to their better judgment in each case to indicate. Come how it may, we wish the help. We need it. We deserve it. Will you give it?

IS GENESIS 21:9-21 A DUPLICATE OF GENESIS 16:5-14?

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Is the account given of Hagar in Gen. 21:9-21 only a different version of that in Gen. 16:5-14? This is claimed by the advocates of the current analysis of Genesis. The reasons given for the opinion are these: (1) The use of Elohim for God in the second passage, Jehovah being used in the first; (2) the similarity of the accounts in other respects; (3) the difficulty of harmonizing the second passage with itself on the supposition that the events of the book are here described in chronological order. Conceding, however, the principle that different names for God are, in themselves, proper in the Bible and even to be expected, we find the two terms here wisely discriminated. The first passage which uses Jehovah, is directly concerned with the trial of Abraham's faith as it concerns the promised seed. What is said of Hagar is incidental to the main thought. The second passage, on the contrary, relates to the expulsion of Ishmael from Abraham's family and to his future history. From analogy where similar themes are treated in Genesis, it might be expected, were the name of God to be used here, that it would be Elohim. The history of Ishmael is carried on to the point where he marries a foreign wife and settles outside of Palestine. Excepting the use of Elohim, the language of the passage is generally admitted to have no peculiarities sufficient to distinguish it from the first.¹

What then are the points of likeness leading to the conclusion that the two passages are but different versions of the same story? They both relate how Hagar, the handmaid of Abraham and Sarah, was driven from the family at Sarah's instigation, and that Hagar was comforted by an angel in the wilderness where she wandered. Here, in general, the points of likeness end.

¹ See Delitzsch, *Commentary, in loco.*

They hold no comparison, in number or quality, with those of unlikeness.

In the first passage the occasion of the outbreak against Hagar is her conception, causing her to despise Sarah who remains barren. In the second, it is the weaning of Isaac whom Sarah has already borne, and at whom, as it would appear, Hagar's son—who had been born still earlier and had now grown to boyhood—mocks. In the first case Sarah deals "hardly" with Hagar, so that she flees away alone. In the second, Abraham sends Hagar away with her child at God's command. In the first, the angel finds Hagar by a fountain of water "in the way to Shur" (cf. verse 14). In the second, the angel hears the cry of distress from Hagar and her child who are ready to perish from thirst in the "wilderness of Beersheba." In the first, the promise made respects Hagar's unborn child. In the second, it respects the same child now accompanying Hagar and is to the effect that he shall become a great people. The first account closes with a statement as to the name Hagar gave to the angel that appeared to her, and to the fountain where he appeared. The second, closes with a statement concerning Ishmael's maturing, marrying and the place where he dwelt.

It will be seen at a glance that the differences of the second account from the first are throughout of the nature to imply that the events it describes occurred several years after those described in the first. This conclusion harmonizes perfectly with the position which has been assigned to it by the author of Genesis in his book. He has inserted between the first and second accounts four chapters of history, including two theophanies, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham's experience with Abimelech in Gerar and, most important of all, the institution of the rite of circumcision together with an account of the circumcision of Ishmael *at the age of thirteen years* (17:25). According to the writer's chronology, Ishmael was sixteen or seventeen years old when the events took place which are recorded in the second passage (17:24, cf. 24:5, 8). He was unborn at the time of those recorded in the first passage. So far, accordingly, there is almost everything to favor the view that we have here, not two

different accounts of the same story, but one account in two successive stages. It surely seems that the material of the second passage forms a strict and proper sequel to that of the first.

At this point our critics' third reason for their view properly comes in. It is that the second passage cannot be harmonized with itself on the supposition that, as compared with the first, it is simply a successive stage of the narrative. In 21:14 Abraham is represented, they affirm, as putting, besides a bottle of water, Ishmael on Hagar's shoulder when he sends her away. This they hold—and very properly if it be true—would be absurd, supposing him to be a youth of sixteen or seventeen years. That it is actually the thought of the writer that the child is put upon the shoulder, they say, is confirmed by the subsequent context which speaks of Hagar as casting her son under a shrub; and by the translators of the Septuagint who, beyond dispute, definitely state it as a fact. Hence, Ishmael cannot be thought of as more than a babe at this time.

Suppose, for a moment, that this reasoning be looked upon as valid, is the passage thus brought into harmony with itself? And is it thus proven to be a duplicate of the first? It would still represent a subsequent stage of the history, if not so late a stage; since in the first passage it is represented that Ishmael is unborn. It would also fail to harmonize (Gen. 21:9-21) with itself along the line of our critics' theory. It would, in fact, create more and greater difficulties than it would solve. Verse 9 represents that Hagar and her son were turned out on account of some misdemeanor ("mocking") on the latter's part. Surely then he was regarded as something more than a mere child. The same point of view is represented in verse 18 where Hagar is commanded to lift up the "lad" and take him by the hand. The Hebrew forbids the supposition that she is expected to support him like an infant upon her arm. The word rendered "lad," too, is not to be overlooked. It means a youth, and, properly, (etymologically) one of about the age which Ishmael, according to the previous history, would be. The word rendered child in verse 14 is less definite, but cannot be confined to one that would need to be borne.¹

¹See 1 Kings 12:8; Eccl. 4:13; Dan, 1:4, etc.

It is clear, then, if the passage is to be harmonized with itself—and with what goes before—the rendering of verse 14 accepted by our critics cannot be adopted. The translators of the Septuagint are blind guides here as so frequently elsewhere. How is it to be rendered? Why, just as it is in our Authorized and also our Revised Version; “Abraham took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and sent her away.” That is to say, he gave her the child to lead by the hand (as in verse 18), or to walk by her side, while putting the bottle of water on her shoulder. The construction does not make the thought as perspicuous as it might be made, but it is not unknown in Hebrew, nor in other languages. There is a similar one in Gen. 43:15: And the men “took double money in their hand, and Benjamin.” Of course, it is not meant that they took double money and Benjamin *in their hand*; but in the same sense that, while taking double money in their hand, they also took Benjamin along.

But what of the statement in verse 15: “She cast the child under one of the shrubs?” We cannot suppose that the writer means that, in a fit of petulance, Hagar *hurled* her infant child from her shoulder into the bushes. Note the expression, “one of the shrubs,” indicating a measure of care; and especially, note the following verse: The mother seated herself a little way off, weeping and saying: “Let me not look upon the death of the child.” So good a Hebraist as Delitzsch (referring to Jer. 38:6; cf. Matt. 15:30) holds that the word rendered “cast” means no more here than “hastily to lay down,” and that it pictures the “sudden resolve of hopeless resignation.” And Strack in his still more recent commentary renders the clause: “So she laid the child under a bush.” Supposing Ishmael to have been really exhausted and famishing, as the context represents, there is nothing out of place in the conduct of Hagar, but it is just what might have been expected from her. It is only when the “traditional” view is accepted accordingly, that Gen. 21:9-21 is found to be consistent with itself, with its preceding context, and with the chronology of the book.

One point more should not be omitted. Not only are our

critics obliged to forsake the Massoretic text in Gen. 21:9-21 and resort to the LXX. to gain even a measure of plausibility for their view, they are forced to a far more serious textual alteration in Gen. 16:8-10. To prevent misunderstanding, let the exact language of one of them be quoted (Addis, *the Oldest Book of Hebrew History*, p. 24) : "As, however, the compiler meant to insert another story of Hagar's flight written by the Elohist, he was obliged to add the verses in brackets, viz., 8, 9, 10, and make Hagar return for a time to Sarah." That is to say, the compiler invented a situation in order to harmonize this passage with the later one. But if the passages are already in the best of harmony, as we think we have shown them to be, then the author of Genesis is not obnoxious to this very serious charge.

THE SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS.

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III.

In our two previous papers we considered the historical problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus under its two complementary aspects, viz: (1) historical,—in relation to the sources; (2) scientific,—in relation to the mind's knowledge. In our first paper we found in the progress of the consideration that the problem sought the unity of the life underneath the forms of representation, and that in this search the work of criticism was incidentally involved. In our second paper we considered what the nature of that investigation must be if the demands of science were to be satisfied.

When we turn to the practical bearings of the problem, we see that on the religious, or so-called practical, as well as on the philosophical side of Christianity, the problem is fundamental.

4. *Bearing of the Problem on Christianity—(a) as Life; (b) as Doctrine.*

Christianity is the religion of its founder. It originated on the assumption and with the conviction that Jesus was the Christ. It is, therefore, the religion of Jesus as the Christ—not the religion of Jesus merely, as the phrase is often used, not the religion of the Christ as an ideal personality embodying certain ideal conceptions, but the religion of Jesus as the Christ. Christianity has been stated by some to be a life, by others to be a doctrine. But whether it be preëminently life, or preëminently doctrine, or whether it be preëminently both, essentially doctrine because essentially life, and doctrine in so far as it is life, however it be defined, it is essentially related to the person of its founder, having, indeed, its origin in the self-consciousness of Jesus, and being found there in its very essence and genius. It is the self-consciousness of Jesus, therefore, that is determinative of

Christianity, whether in its practical or philosophical aspects, whether it be considered as life in the lives of men, or as doctrines in men's minds.

(a) *Christianity as Life.* To him who will embody this life in his own life, the study and contemplation of the consciousness of Jesus is indeed a vital matter. How else should that consciousness become the guide to his own life? This is what is done inevitably by him who has the practical aim of reproducing in so far as he may in his own life the life of Christ. He does not indeed do this consciously. He studies the sayings of Jesus and seeks to obey his commands. He contemplates the character of Jesus, and seeks to imitate it. He notes the actions of Jesus and seeks to make them the example of his own. But in so far as this is done, to that extent it is the contemplation and the coming to an understanding of the consciousness of Jesus. And in these days when there is so much questioning concerning the facts of Jesus' life, the importance of the study, viewed from its practical aspects, is at once seen. Men need this for their life. If it be true, they wish it for their truth. If, on the other hand, it be not true, or if there be great doubt in their minds as to its truth, they hesitate to take it as the truth. Let it be known and felt, however, as fact, and it may be taken into the life without reserve as truth, subject in the results of its workings only to the limitations of the life into which it is received. If the fact be true, what is needed most in these days, is not only the knowledge that it be true, as objective fact, but also the conviction that it is the truth for the individual, personal life. If Christianity be life then the source of that life must be known as the life of that life. Known not merely as that from which originated certain sayings and deeds, but as the life of which these sayings and deeds served as the medium of expression. Whether Jesus be indeed the Christ; whether he be, as has been conceived, the perfect revelation of God in man; whether he be, within the bounds of time and space the eternal truth and life and love; whether—in the terms of the problem—his self-consciousness be complete in its content and in this content perfect in its relations, or whether it be incomplete, imperfect—this is of vital practical import.

(b) *Christianity as Doctrine.* Or, on the other hand, if Christianity be doctrine, then the philosophical bearing of the fact is of central importance. For this fact must be at the center of its philosophy. Its philosophy is, indeed, essentially this—the interpretation of the fact. Christianity has never been without its theology, at first in germ, but growing all the time and coming into consciousness of itself, now in one of its phases, now in another, as in the exigencies of life and in the stress of thought it developed its various distinctive doctrines.

There are two main questions of intrinsic interest regarding the life of any individual. The first is, Who was he? the second, What did he do? The second is, indeed, often a method of arriving at the first. He was the one who did so and so, or such and such a thing. The second question is itself an element in the first. The fundamental question must always be, Who was he? and in the full answer to this there must necessarily be included the statement of what he did. What he did helps us to determine who and what manner of man he was. The individual himself is always more and greater than what he does. His actions inhere in his person and are expressions of his own nature and character. These as they are the two questions concerning the life of every individual are the two questions that confront the student of the life of Christ. It is only when we recognize the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus as the fundamental problem that these questions can receive their answer. The question as to what he did becomes merged in the former question as to who he was. For what he did must first have existed in his own thought and life as ideal, motive, purpose. What he did will therefore help to interpret who he was.

These two questions, which are the two questions of his life, and for their answer take us to his own self-consciousness, are indeed the two questions that have always been uppermost in the thought of the church. Its two great doctrines have been the answer to these questions. For three centuries the church was seeking its answer to the former of these questions. When system after system had given its answer, and when each had been rejected as belonging to a philosophy that was alien to Christian-

ity, the church finally forged in the stress of conflict and in the keenest intellectual activity it has ever known, its doctrine of the Trinity. And here the answer rested and has rested to the present day, save as in the present century attempts have been made to interpret the same answer in terms of current thought. "This is the doctrine," declares the church, "that represents what we hold to be our life. This answers the question, who was Jesus. This is the interpretation of our conception of his person. This is our most sacred truth, for it is this that guards the very vitals of our faith. The heart of Christ is in this doctrine. We rest in this. Here our minds have found what our hearts have felt and known. In this the deepest conception of thought are embodied those truths that are the deepest of the heart. As we value our Christianity as a religion of heart and soul for daily life and conduct, so we value this truth. As with this life we meet the dangers to this life from the various forms of life that are foreign to it, so with this truth, this doctrine, we meet those forms of thought that are hostile to it and that represent other types of life than that we cherish. In our heart we know our Christianity as life; in this doctrine we know it in our minds as truth." There could have been no rest for the church until it had found in thought that which was the adequate interpretation and representation of what it already possessed in life. Its doctrine of the Trinity enabled it to meet both friend and foe in the conscious possession of the truth. It had become conscious of itself in the terms and in the conceptions of universal thought, and felt that its life had justified itself before the bar of universal reason. It had answered to the best of its ability the question who Christ was, and had interpreted, in the only way in which it was possible for it to interpret, that truth which it knew immediately, by vital experience, in its own heart.

Take the other question—What did Christ do? This, too, had been before the church from the very first, and although its answers have been many and have varied through the centuries according to that phase of thought which was characteristic of the time, and although even now the church gives no uniform answer in which all agree, yet the question still is before it, and

always some answer is attempted. Though there be various theories of the atonement, yet the *fact* is always insisted on as being the answer to the question—What did Christ do? It may be that the answer to the second question is waiting till the answer to the first be anew investigated. It may be that the answer shall be found in some suggestions that may come when the first theme, so rich and fertile in ideas, is again considered. Indeed, as we have seen above, there is an essential relationship existing between the two questions; and hence, also, between their answers. This essential relation existing between the two doctrines of the atonement and the Trinity, will, then, be better understood with that better understanding of the latter doctrine that cannot be far distant.

This is not the place to discuss the doctrines of the Trinity and the atonement. It is important, however, to note in passing the bearing on these questions of the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus, and to note that the two great doctrines of the church, those that have interpreted most deeply its deepest life, and round which the thought of the Christian ages has loved to dwell, are simply the attempted answers to these fundamental questions—Who was Jesus? and, What did Jesus do?

The ultimate answer to these questions can be found only in the renewed study of the life of Jesus. Christian thought must go below the text to the life. The church must fathom the depths of Christ's own consciousness. It is not sufficient to base a doctrine on isolated texts, or on any number of texts outwardly related. The solution of the problem does not lie here—on the surface, though that surface does reveal depths of truth. The depths themselves must be known, and explored, and fathomed. The truths themselves, not in their surface expression, but in their inner reality, and in their inter-relation in the organic unity of a life, must be known. This is the ultimate source of Christian truth, and until this source be thoroughly known, not only will Christian doctrine be inadequate as the interpretation of the Christian life, but it will fail to coördinate itself with truth as discovered and known in other realms of life. And hence there will be conflict instead of harmony, and Christianity will be

forced back into itself, to discover itself anew, in order that it may know itself aright and come forth with its true interpretation. There is no conflict between truth and truth, but only between truth and error. Error will fall away; truth will remain. That which is truth as life to the consciousness of Jesus, will in the realm of thought be truth as doctrine. Between truth in life and truth in doctrine there is a perfect correlation; and that which is truth in Christian life and doctrine will be truth in all life and thought, and will coördinate itself as such with all that is truth in other realms. There is no division in truth. All truth is one. And that which is found as truth in the deepest source of truth known to science or philosophy, will be found to be the center of all truth, correlating itself with all truth immediately and deeply.

The problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus is thus of vital importance to theology. A searching investigation of this problem will result not only in a more evident foundation for Christian doctrine, a more evident essential relation between Christian doctrine and Christian life, but also in a fuller knowledge of the facts, and so, because of this, in a more harmonious and complete system of Christian truth. A knowledge of the truth in life will be the means to a knowledge of the truth in doctrine. The true life will be the basis for the true theology.

Leaving the historical and scientific aspects of the problem and its bearings within the sphere of Christianity itself on the individual religious life and on theological thought, there remain to be considered, last of all, and briefly, its bearings on the comparative study of religions.

5. Bearing of the Problem on the Comparative Study of Religions.

The fundamental importance of this problem has recently been illustrated in a most striking way. For the first time in history there has been convened a Parliament of Religions. Each of the great religions has had its characteristic features sketched by one or more of its adherents. The unity underlying all religions has been dwelt upon. The common possession of the idea of God and of the spirit of human brotherhood have been emphasized. The Parliament cannot fail to bring into promi-

nence and into public interest, the questions—What have Christianity and the other religions in common? and what are those characteristics of Christianity that distinguish it from all others? Take for example, Buddhism. In no other religion is there a spirit so akin to that of Christianity. No founder of any of the great world religions is so near to Christ in sympathy as Gautama. In the record of no other life are we so impressed with the fact that we are in the presence of one whose spirit of human love and of self-sacrifice make him kin to Christ. Yet with all the sweetness and feeling of human brotherhood that we find in Buddhism, with all its noble precepts and its inspiring example of self-sacrifice in the person of Gautama, Buddhism is essentially pessimistic. It cannot escape from that conception of God and of the universe and of humanity out of which it rose, and in which it developed,—a conception that has stimulated the development of the most radical pessimistic systems of the present day. According to the philosophy in which it had its roots, the highest goal of the individual is a state in which the individual personality is lost in the impersonal infinite. The purpose of Buddhistic ethics is escape from the burden of existence. Where is Buddhism to be best studied if not in the person of its founder? Where can the genius of Buddhism be so well understood as in the life of him who discovered in his own experience the way of escape, and renounced all to teach this way to others?

It is in the religious consciousness of the founders of the great religions that we can best study these religions, or at any rate that we must ultimately study them, if we are to arrive at their true inwardness and place upon them their true comparative value. It is a question not of conceptions merely, but of life. We are not studying conceptions and their inter-relation in thought, but life in its actual reality. Here is the true center for the ultimate solution of many questions, not only merely religious and ethical but also speculative. What is true in life, must be true in thought. If we can only see life in the organic unity of its component parts, we have before us in reality that which the mind is to know in thought. What are the great religious problems? Do they not center round these three things: the idea of God;

the conception of righteousness ; the idea of immortality ? Granted that there be a life that is a perfect embodiment of the conception of righteousness, that is conscious of its own immortality as a personal being, that is a perfect revelation of God in humanity, where can we discover the relations of these concepts so well as in the living life, in which they exist as actualities ? The matter then would not be in the realm of speculation merely, but in the realm of reality. It must be that the true relations of these, as seen in life, would throw light upon the true relations as existing in thought, indeed would be the true relations for thought. The problem would be, given the unity of these in life, what is their relation in thought ? Whatever realization or near approach to realization of these conceptions in life there may have been, we surely are most likely to find the realization, if at all, in the lives of the founders of the great religions. It is from their own consciousness that these religions sprung, and in these that they had their fullest vital expression. And if there be no perfect realization of any one of them in any life, it yet remains true that the lives in which there was the nearest approach to this, would be of the greatest significance to the student of the respective religions. What, for example, is the Buddhistic conception of God ? Look for it in its essential elements in the life of Gautama. What of immortality ? what of righteousness ? For though there may have been developments in Buddhist doctrine, since the days of Gautama, yet the essential elements of that religion, as they have existed in men's lives, and as they do now exist as a basis for doctrine, must be seen most clearly in that life whom millions venerate as the one who showed to them the way of salvation, having first entered therein himself.

It is not within the scope of this paper to make even a brief comparison between Christianity and the other religions of the world, except in so far as is necessary to illustrate the bearings upon their study of the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus. It may not be amiss, however, to remark, since the whole emphasis of the problem, as it has presented itself in its various aspects, has been on this point of the fact itself, that if Christianity is the ultimate religion and is to become the univer-

sal religion, it is because it witnesses to a fact; because it presents, not primarily a philosophy, but a life, which it holds to meet alike the demands of mind and heart and will. It is more than Confucianism, a system of ethics; more than a speculative system and a noble ideal and example, as Buddhism; more than a pure and lofty monotheism, as Judaism. Christianity proclaims as a fact, realized in the actual history of humanity, the perfect revelation of God in man.

We have thus briefly considered the problem of the self-consciousness of Jesus in its various aspects and bearings, viz.: (1) its historical aspects—its nature in relation to the sources; (2) its scientific aspects—its nature in relation to the mind's knowledge; (3) its religious bearings—in relation to the individual life; (4) its philosophical bearings—in relation to theology; (5) what may be called its ethnic bearings—in relation to the study of comparative religion.

The subject is thus seen to fall under two general divisions according to its internal and external relations respectively, viz.:

I. Aspects of the problem: (1) historical; (2) scientific.

II. Practical bearings of the problem: (1) on Christianity, (*a*) as life, (*b*) as doctrine; (2) on the study of comparative religion.

The problem in its historical and scientific aspects is subordinate to its practical bearings—religious, philosophical, ethnic. That is, the problem exists for its solution, and for the practical results that such solution will have not only on individual life and thought within the sphere of Christianity itself, but also on the religious life and thought of the adherents of the other religions. The Christianity that most simply and most deeply and most adequately represents in its life and interprets in its thought the life of Christ, as this is found most deeply in his own consciousness of himself, will be that which will be most effective in mediating Christ, not only to the adherents of Christianity itself, but also to the adherents of other religions.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

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II.

A second argument for the unhistorical character of the narrative of this period is the lateness of the date at which the traditions of the patriarchs were committed to writing. According to the dominant school of criticism of the day, the oldest documents of the Hexateuch were not composed before the eighth or the seventh century B. C. Even if they had been written at the time of Moses, they would be long posterior to the events and would be hard to trust; coming from the time of Hosea or of Isaiah, they cannot claim the least historical credibility.

In regard to this argument it should be noticed, first of all, that in the *dating* of the documents of the Pentateuch we are upon the disputed ground of the higher criticism of the Old Testament. It may be that substantial unity has been reached in the analysis of the documents, particularly of the P element, but no such unanimity exists in regard to the dating of these elements. When a critic of the reputation of Professor König can hold, in his recent Introduction to the Old Testament, that E belongs to the period of the Judges and that J need not have been written later than the time of Solomon, it is evident that the historical problem is not yet solved, although the literary problem seems to be approaching solution. It cannot be said that the origin of most of the narratives of the patriarchs in the middle of the period of the Kings has yet been proved; the personal opinion of the writer of this article is that they have a much greater antiquity. However, to argue this point would require a book rather than a review article, and since the theory of the later date is the current one, it is better for apologetic reasons to discuss the question from this stand-point.

Granted that JE, which is the main source of the story of the patriarchs, first originated in the eighth century B. C., does it follow from this that it is unhistorical? Not necessarily, it seems to me. It may be that a record which is itself late was based upon earlier written sources and consequently is more ancient in substance than it is in form. There is a very real distinction, which is often ignored by modern critics, between the age of the contents of a book and the age of the composition. Indications of earlier records within JE are not wanting, although it is impossible to indicate the limits of these documents with certainty. One thing we may affirm positively, the stories of the patriarchs did not *originate* in the time of the Kings even if they were then first committed to writing. The notion that legends were invented in order to give additional sanctity to the numerous sanctuaries of Israel by bringing them into connection with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is destitute of historical probability. The sanctuaries may have arisen on the basis of the stories but the stories cannot have arisen on the basis of the sanctuaries. Tradition of this sort is the heritage of a race as a whole, and its poetic form is the product of the race spirit. For this reason it can have its origin only in the earliest period of national existence, when the race is still a unit. Stories of the forefathers and of the origin of the tribe may continue to be handed down after a people has become divided as Israel was, but they do not originate then. Such traditions would be nothing more than myths, and myths are not the products of historical times, but belong to the first stage of human development. At whatever time they were written out, these traditions themselves go back to Israel's primitive period. The only question which can arise is whether it is possible that they should have preserved the memory of the original historical fact through so many generations. What are then some of the circumstances which are favorable to the correct transmission of tradition, and how far did these conditions exist in the case of the patriarchal narratives? History in general shows that the tradition of events is easily lost unless it be associated with some objective aid to memory.

7. One of the most important aids is the connection of an

event with a name. Names persist even when languages or races change, and when the name has arisen out of an historical circumstance, the circumstance will probably remain in memory as long as the name is used. The modern name West Indies, for instance, will always bear witness to the fact that Columbus was looking for a passage to India, apart from any explicit historical testimony to that effect. In ancient times names both of persons and of things were usually significant, and this fact was conducive to the preservation of many valuable historical reminiscences. Now the connection of events with names is a marked feature of the Old Testament record as far as the end of 2 Samuel and this is a strong point in favor of the historicity of the tradition. Probably the story of Moses' rescue from the river owes its preservation to the fact that it is connected with his name by means of the play upon the words *mā-shā* and *mō-shé* to draw out (Ex. 2:10) in spite of the fact that the name *mō-shé* was, no doubt, of Egyptian rather than of Hebrew origin.

In the patriarchal history of Genesis nearly every name is associated with an anecdote. The association may be as old as the name, in any case it is very ancient, and is a guarantee for the correct transmission of the tradition from the time of its first appearance. Thus the name Isaac, "laughter," has carried with it through the centuries the memory of the fact that Isaac was a child of his parents' old age (Gen. 21:6), and the name Jacob has preserved both the incident of the birth of Rebekah's twins and the way in which one supplanted his brother. The name Israel has been the means of preserving the story of Jacob's remarkable experience at the ford of Jabbok (22:28). Names of places also, such as Beersheba (21:31), Bethel (28:19), Mizpah (31:48), and Mahanaim (32:2), have kept in existence the stories connected with them in Genesis, and they prove that these stories are not late fictions.

2. Besides names, an important aid for the conservation of tradition is found in the brief pointed sayings which become an integral part of the language of a nation. Proverbs, epigrams and ancient songs furnish a thread on which a great deal of historical matter may be strung. Even as late as the time of David we find

the record of the capture of Jebus coupled with an obscure proverb in regard to the lame and the blind (*2 Sam. 5:8*), and we rightly infer from this that although the incident is traditional, it is historical. In a similar manner the song of Deborah has preserved a correct memory of the defeat of Sisera, and the stories of Gideon and Samson owe their transmission to the pithy sayings which, on certain great occasions, fell from the lips of these worthies and were repeated ever afterward by their fellow-countrymen.

This kind of association is not wanting in the narrative of the patriarchs. In *Gen. 22:14* the current proverb "In the Mount of Yahwè he shall be seen (or one shall appear)" has been the means of preserving to us the beautiful tale of the offering up of Isaac. Compare also the venerable poetic fragment in *25:23; 27:27-29; 27:39 ff.*, which doubtless, whenever they were repeated, carried with them the story of the circumstances under which they were first spoken.

3. Equally important as conservers of tradition are national customs and religious observances. Wherever in the Christian church the Lord's Supper is celebrated, the fact of Christ's death is commemorated, and apart from all documentary evidence, that celebration will always carry with it the story of the institution and of the meaning of the rite, nor is it conceivable that any important modification should be introduced into the accompanying narrative, however long the time of transmission may be.

So long as Passover existed, Israel could not forget the origin of this institution, and whenever it was celebrated, the story of its historical meaning was sure to accompany it. In a precisely similar way the rite of circumcision was a guarantee of the genuineness of the story of the origin of this observance in faith in a covenant of God, whose outward sign this ceremony was. Even events of little national importance may be connected with national custom and thus escape oblivion. The fate of Jephtha's daughter was remembered in Israel because of its association with the annual lament of the women (*Judg. 11:40*), and similarly the memory of Jacob's lameness is preserved by connection with

the custom of the Israelites not to eat the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh (Gen. 32: 32).

4. Physical objects, such as trees, wells, stones or altars served also to keep fresh the tradition of historical events. Every European traveler knows what a mass of history is transmitted in purely traditional form in connection with churches, castles and other famous places of antiquity. So long as the Wartburg stands, the story of Luther's forced residence there will be told, and it is not probable that any important modifications will come into the narrative so long as it is told on the original ground. The earlier writings of the Old Testament are full of such local associations and this makes it evident that the first writers of the history of the patriarchs did not invent their narratives, but went carefully about and gathered up traditions as they were told in connection with places and things in different parts of the Holy Land. In Gen. 12: 6 the oak of Moreh, no doubt a venerable landmark in the time of the writer, is the scene of a tradition in regard to the wanderings of Abraham. In 21: 23 the tamarisk tree in Beersheba, which Abraham planted, is the bearer of the tradition in regard to the transaction between Abraham and Abimelech. "The oak of weeping" (35: 8) has preserved the memory of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, who was known to be buried beneath it. Wells have historical reminiscences connected with them in Gen. 16: 14; 21: 30; 26: 33; and often elsewhere. Stones as mementoes of historical events are referred to in 28: 18; 31: 45-48, and altars in 12: 8; 13: 18; 26: 25, and 35: 1.

There is no reason why traditions which were thus localized might not be transmitted for an indefinitely long time without material modification, and the circumstance that nearly all the traditions in regard to the patriarchs are connected with some such external aid to memory, is strong evidence that they have historical foundation. In view of this fact it seems to me to be possible to affirm that in the patriarchal period, as well as in the Mosaic, we are on historical ground, even if the documents were composed as late as many critics now believe to be the case. Of course if a greater antiquity of the documents can be maintained the historical certainty rises proportionally.

1. Admitting all this, we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that a history which rests wholly upon traditional sources cannot possess the same degree of exactness as one based upon original documents. Tradition retains only the main incidents and easily loses its hold on minor matters. Even the gospel narratives differ from one another in regard to the details of events in the Old Testament. The numerous double accounts of incidents show what modification may be introduced into a tradition within a comparatively short time. In 1 Sam. 10:11 f and 19:24 different accounts are given of the origin of the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" According to one it was when Saul was on his way home after being anointed by Samuel, according to the other it was when he was going down to Naioth to capture David. 1 Sam. 24 and 26 are generally regarded as parallel accounts of David's sparing Saul's life when he had the opportunity to slay him. According to one it happened when Saul went into a cave where David and his men were hiding, and David cut off a piece of his robe; according to the other it occurred in the camp of Saul, and David took a spear and a cruise of water. Similar instances are found in the patriarchal history. For instance, two accounts are given of the origin of the name Beersheba in Gen. 21:31 and 26:33 respectively. Gen. 12:10-20 and Gen. 20 are probably parallel accounts of the taking away of Sarah from Abraham, the only difference being that in one case it is Pharaoh who does it; in the other, Abimelech, king of Gerar. Cases of this sort show, in the most conclusive manner, that although the main point of an event may be handed down by tradition, the details cannot be accurately transmitted.

2. Candor compels us to recognize also the fact that oral tradition has a tendency to glorify the past, and that this modifies the strictly historical character of the narrative. When the memory of an event depends upon tradition only, it is inevitable that the striking features of this event should be rendered more striking, and that by artistic touches of various narrators the impression should here and there be heightened. We all know from our experience how the story of an episode improves with frequent telling, and how, without loss of the basis of the fact,

the setting of the incident gradually becomes somewhat different from what it was before. This is true on a larger scale in the transmission of history by tradition. The main incidents are all preserved because of national or religious interest in them, but this very interest causes them to be told in such a way as to increase their impressiveness. Even in the later and more certainly historical tradition of the Mosaic period, instances of the embellishing result of oral tradition are not wanting. If such a heightening of tradition can have taken place at so late a time, it is plain that it must also have occurred to a greater or less degree in the history of the patriarchs, although here we are not in the position to recognize it so readily as in the later history. So far as the sacred record has been obliged to depend for its information on traditional sources, it is liable to all the disturbing influences which are a necessary accompaniment of oral tradition. Were this not so, the true humanity of the Bible would be lost, and we should have to assume the Romish theory of an infallible tradition in the Old Testament church as well as in the Christian church. We have no warrant, however, either in Scripture or in reason for such an assumption, and we must conclude, therefore, that the narrative of the patriarchal period has not escaped that modification in detail which is the inevitable fate of all history which depends upon oral transmission.

3. The oral tradition of events carries with it of necessity a subjective coloring. Every time that a story is told it is unconsciously adapted by the narrator, and however early it is recorded, it can never give us the plain prosaic facts of the past, but carries with it a certain poetical element. Tradition is a matter of the feelings and of the disposition of the race which transmits it as well as of the memory. Each age tells the story in the spirit of its own beliefs and aspirations, and thus it grows in beauty, in instructiveness and in ideality. This is the poetic side of tradition. It weakens the strict historical value of the narrative, in the modern sense of the word historical, but it strengthens its religious significance. The central thoughts of the past thus become more prominent than they were in real life. All the details are so arranged as to strengthen the impression of these

thoughts, and a picture is thus produced which is of more value as an example than the plain original. As Professor Hermann Schultz beautifully remarks (*Alttest. Theol.* p. 18), "The main figures of the past become imprints, types of the nationality and of its historical destiny. We are given a glimpse into the inmost heart of the race, and behold there the moving and impelling forces out of which its historical life flows. Hence the ever fresh impressiveness of these narratives, hence the feeling that we are brought into contact with beings of flesh and blood, who are truer than if they were only historical. For this reason no one ever feels so much at home as in history. Here one sits by the hearth in the home of a nation and hears the very breath which it draws."

4. The recording of the earliest traditions of Israel was not a critical process, and this fact also detracts from the strict historical exactness of the narratives of the patriarchs. Among the Hebrews, as among other races, the recording of tradition probably began when it was observed that the memory of antiquity was beginning to die out. This recording was not such an easy process as one might suppose. The would-be historian did not know all the traditions which were current among his people and had to search them out. They were probably the possession of a special class of narrators, as is the case among the Arabs, and were to be obtained in their most exact form only from the lips of these professional guardians of tradition. In different parts of the land in the mouth of different persons the stories varied and the relative value of the traditions had to be estimated and the best one chosen. Most of the tales of the olden times were fragmentary, and one must be used to supplement and explain the other. Historical items and anecdotes of the forefathers were scattered, and the editor was obliged to collect and arrange them. The modern historian would have approached this task in a critical spirit, and would have subjected the heterogeneous matter before him to an analytical investigation, and have endeavored from a comparison of the various elements to construct the exact original historical basis of the tradition. This was not the method of the ancient historian. For him the national tradition was

something far too sacred to be sifted, and even if he had had the wish to investigate it critically, he would not have had the ability. Like all other biblical historians, the gatherers of the traditions of the patriarchs had neither a critical nor a scientific, but a religious aim. The principle on which they have selected and arranged their material was that of edification. They have, it is true, given us very valuable historical information, but this was not their main purpose. If they had had only an historical interest they would never have written. It was the hope of awakening the religious spirit of their own age which led them to gather up the treasures of the religious experience of Israel. To appreciate the true significance of their work we must come to it not in the cold critical spirit of scientific investigation, but with a sympathetic heart and the longing for religious inspiration. Coming in that spirit, we shall rejoice that the first gatherers of the stories of the patriarchs were not critics, and that instead of attempting to separate the objective from the ideal elements, or to distinguish between versions of the same event, they have recorded the tradition for us in all its simplicity and beauty, just as it came from the heart of a race which had experienced God's presence in the past, and was conscious of his abiding grace and direction in the present.

REALISM IN PSALM 23:1-3.

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The realist and the idealist in art work from the same motive, to make truth effective upon character, but while the idealist does this by presenting the ideal for us to admire and strive after, the realist believes that to present life just as it is with all its blemishes as well as its virtues is the best way to attain the object of art by vividly drawing the contrast between what is and what should be, and so leading us to strive for the ideal. This realism may be carried too far, as when a few years ago an artist exhibited his collection of paintings representing in minute detail all the horrors of war and public executions, for the avowed purpose of making war and capital punishment so odious that they would be abolished. The public was shocked by the exhibition and declined to be taught in that way.

But though realism in art may be carried too far; there is a growing demand that art should be in a proper degree realistic, that it should in its presentations conform more to facts, or at least to probabilities. We demand of the historical painter that he should so familiarize himself with the historical setting in time and place of the incident he attempts to paint that he will introduce no anachronisms nor *outlandishisms* in furniture, dress or physiognomy, and we demand this in the presentation of sacred scenes as much as in any other. We demand such careful study of probabilities as Munkacsy has shown in the details of his "Christ before Pilate." We can forgive the great masters, though they sinned grievously in this respect, because of their many other virtues, and because they perhaps knew no better. We may even forgive the old illustrated German Bible that in its engraving of Samson and the lion put in the background a man shooting birds with a gun. But henceforth let no artist people Bible scenes with chubby-faced Dutch men and women, or paint the

Madonna seated in a high-backed chair, or the Twelve at the last supper sitting upright in European style along one side of a long deal table. We should rather imitate the faithful realism of the artists of the ancient courts of Egypt and Assyria on whose monuments we can distinguish at once the Ethiopian captive from the Jew, and both from their conquerors, by dress and physiognomy. Their art was rude, but so far as it went, was true to the life of the times. They did not make the mistake of supposing that all men and all scenery the world over were Assyrian or Egyptian.

It is some such mistake as this that the translators of the English Bible have made in their rendering of the first three verses of the twenty-third Psalm. By the rendering they have given to a single word, they have given us an English scene where they should have given us a Palestinian one. They have not been true to the time and country in which the psalm was written and so have not been true to life.

What is the picture that we have in the English translation, "He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters"? Is it not that of a beautiful English meadow by the side of a calm lake or quiet deep-flowing stream, an ideal picture of abundance and ease? But such a scene could hardly be found in all Palestine. There, with the exception of the large bodies of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, the one bitter as brine and both shadeless under a burning sun, the "still waters" are the stagnant waters, either the marshes of the Huleh or the dirty village pools, the common resort of the town for drinking or washing for cattle and men, more suggestive of buffalo wallows than of English lakes and meadows. If then we accept the English translation, "still waters," we have a picture that from the oriental standpoint is either idealistic but untrue to nature, or realistic at the expense of beauty.

But if we change a single word and, keeping closer to the Hebrew original, read instead of "still waters," the words "the waters of rest," or more literally, "of resting places," which is the form also in the Arabic translation, we shall have a picture at once realistic, *i.e.*, true to oriental life, and not less beautiful

than the other and at the same time more true as a type of spiritual experience. "He leadeth me beside the *waters of rest*." The reference here is to the waters of the noon-tide rest, some sparkling spring or babbling brook, coursing down the valley between its grassy banks and under the shade of its own tangled growth of bushes and trees, where the sheep that have been feeding all the morning on the scanty herbage of the hills above, under a blazing sun, are gathered in by the shepherds at this hottest time of the day to enjoy a cool and refreshing hour.

The psalm thus rendered recalls the scene we once witnessed at the 'Ain Mousa, or Spring of Moses, in the Wady Mousa in Moab near the foot of Mt. Nebo. We had spent the morning in a ride from Medeba to view the Promised Land as Moses viewed it, and at noon descended to 'Ain Mousa for an hour's rest before returning to Medeba. 'Ain Mousa is a copious spring of clear, cold water gushing from the side of a great rock, its banks lined with mosses and cresses, and shaded with oleander and fig. We had not been here long when a dozen flocks of sheep and goats were seen in different directions making their way down the steep sides of the valley to the spring. The sun had served as their clock to tell them the proper time, and here for an hour they drank the cool water or lay in the shade of the bushes or nibbled the tender grass and twigs. This was the restoration of soul of which the psalm speaks. What it was to them we knew, not only from their actions, but from our own feelings, for we too had been climbing for hours on the hills above, and were now bathing, drinking the cool water, lunching and resting; in a word, restoring our souls beside the "waters of rest."

But most interesting of all it was, to see here the illustration of the next line of the psalm. "He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake." The "paths of righteousness" are the paths of *duty*. When these sheep and goats had had their hour of rest and refreshment, it was a remarkable sight to see their preparations for returning to the hills. Apparently without signal from the shepherds, the patriarch of each flock took his stand at some distance from the brook facing up the hillside in the direction from which he had come. One by one

the rest fell in leisurely behind him, till each flock stood ready in single file or column of twos, according as they had been trained, the sheep by themselves, and the goats by themselves, or, as I noticed in one flock, in column of twos made up of sheep and goats, with the sheep in the left-hand file and the goats on the right. And then, when the shepherds had stirred up the few laggards that were still indulging themselves, forgetful of duty, in the shade of the bushes, the columns moved slowly off up the hillsides without breaking their files till they reached the plateau above. We could hardly be persuaded that it was not a sense of duty that the shepherds had imparted to them that led these sheep to turn away from the water and shade and still abundant grass to browse on the stony hills where the sun was still shining with almost noon-day heat.

The psalm with its translation changed as suggested is true to nature. Is it not also more true to spiritual experience? Few if any of us in our spiritual experience live always "in clover." A continual pasturing beside "still waters" is a type realized in few lives. But hours of refreshment, of restoration of soul beside the *waters of rest*, are common experiences, and it is common experience also to have to turn away from such refreshment, to walk again in the paths of righteousness, to take up the practical duties of life, to bear the heat and burden of the day, to earn the daily bread for ourselves and those dependent upon us, often by scanty pickings and amid uncomfortable surroundings. It is such experiences as these that give value to the hour of rest, and the shepherd psalmist had some such scene in mind when he wrote:

"The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.
"He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
"He leadeth me beside the waters of rest.
"He restoreth my soul:
"He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake."

PAUL'S VISITS TO JERUSALEM.

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The visits made by Paul to Jerusalem, after his conversion, are especially important, because our knowledge of the dates and the order of the events of early Christian history depends upon them. Five such visits are mentioned in the narrative portions of the Acts. The first, Acts 9:26-30, is the one when Saul was recognized as a disciple; let us call it the *recognition* visit. In the second, Acts 11:30; 12:25, Barnabas and Saul, in the famine, carried relief from Antioch; call this the *relief* visit. In the third, they met the apostles and elders and "all the multitude" of the Jerusalem church, Acts 15:4, 6, 12, 22, on the question of the status of Gentile Christians; call this the visit of the *council*. Of the fourth, Acts 18:18, 22, we have no details, except that Paul "went up and saluted the church"; call this the *salutation* visit. The fifth, mentioned with many details in Acts 19:21 and the following chapters, and in the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, is the visit when Paul carried large alms to the poor saints in Jerusalem, and when he was assaulted, kept two years a prisoner, and then sent to Rome; call this the visit of the *imprisonment*.

In Paul's addresses, as distinguished from the narrative, he speaks twice of having been in Jerusalem, Acts 22:17-21; 26:20. The latter of these two passages is apparently general, but the former refers to a definite occasion, when he was in a trance in the temple, and was forbidden to remain in Jerusalem, and required to go "far hence to the Gentiles"; call this the visit of the *trance*. Further, in Gal. 1:18-19, Paul speaks of a visit to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion, when he abode with Cephas fifteen days, but saw no other apostle, though he saw James, the Lord's brother; call this the *Cephas* visit. Finally, in Gal. 2:1-10, he speaks of a visit fourteen years after either his

conversion or the *Cephas* visit, in which he and Barnabas received "the right hands of fellowship" from James and Cephas and John; we will call this the *fellowship* visit.

If any one cares to study the matter, he should begin by fixing in memory the important statements made in the passages just referred to. Any one who does this will, I think, recognize the eight names that I have given to the visits as correctly describing, in each case, the most important characteristic of the visit. And, in the process of examining the passages, he will come to see that the central question in any investigation that may be made is the question whether the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 2:1-10, is to be identified with any of the visits mentioned in the Acts, and with which of those visits, if with any.

Conybeare and Howson, and more recent writers as well, give accounts of the various answers that have been proposed. So far as I know, a strong majority of scholars identify the visit of Gal., chap. 2, with the *council* visit, Acts, chap. 15. Others identify it with the *relief* visit, Acts 11:30, or with the *salutation* visit, Acts 18:18, 22, or make it different from all the five visits mentioned in the narrative in Acts. The solution I have to propose is unlike all these. I hold that the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 2:1-10, is identical with the *recognition* visit, Acts 9:26-30. Very likely some one may already have proposed this view, but I do not happen to have met it. It seems to me that it carries positive evidence along with it, and I shall, therefore, discuss the other solutions only to the extent to which they contribute to the bringing out of this evidence.

1. The usual solutions of the problem take for granted the identity of the *Cephas* visit, Gal. 2:18-19, the *trance* visit, Acts 22:17-21, and the *recognition* visit, Acts 9:26-30. They do not argue this. They assume it, as being a matter of course. And just at this uninvestigated point, their position is weak.

There is, indeed, no reason against identifying the *Cephas* visit with the *trance* visit. Saul may have gone to the temple, during the fifteen days of his stay with Cephas, and may there, in a trance, have been forbidden to remain in Jerusalem, and required to go to the Gentiles. If this occurred, it admirably

fits and supplements the rest of the history. Three years before this, at his conversion, he had been designated to work among the Gentiles, Acts 9:15; 26:17-18. Now he has an intense longing to labor at Jerusalem, on the very ground where he had formerly been known as a persecutor, Acts 22:19-20. What Peter and James think of the matter we are not told. The temple vision decides it, and he departs, only returning to Jerusalem, many years after, to report upon his work among the Gentiles, and seek fellowship.

But, when it comes to identifying the *Cephas* visit with the *recognition* visit of Acts 9:26-30, the obstacles are insuperable. True, the *Cephas* visit is the one first mentioned in Galatians, and the *recognition* visit is the one first mentioned in Acts, and this creates some presumption that the two are identical, and accounts for the fact that many have so regarded them. But this presumption vanishes when we notice the differences between the two. In Acts 9:26-30 Barnabas is prominent, while it would be difficult to find a place for him in Gal. 1:18-19. The object of the visit of Acts, chap. 9, is "to join himself to the disciples," and that of the visit of Gal. 1 is "to become acquainted with Cephas," and these two objects, while not necessarily inconsistent, are unlike. In Acts, chap. 9, his errand is with the apostles, while in the affair in Galatians he sees no apostle but Peter, unless we call James, the Lord's brother, an apostle. Even if we count James an apostle, the statement in Galatians cannot apply to the event described in the Acts:

"He was with them going in and going out at Jerusalem, preaching boldly in the name of the Lord; and he spake and disputed against the Grecian Jews; but they went about to kill him," Acts 9:28, 29.

Further, after this public association with the apostles, in and out of Jerusalem, he would not have been "unknown by face" to the Judæan churches as he declares he was after the *Cephas* visit, Gal. 1:22. Still further, the account of the *recognition* visit makes the impression that he then escaped from Jerusalem to Tarsus, and there remained till Barnabas persuaded him to go to Antioch, and again engage in work, Acts 9:30; 11:25-26;

while the account of the *Cephas* visit makes the impression that he went at once into active work, in Syria first, and then in Cilicia. In view of these differences, it is, in the highest degree, improbable that the visit described in Acts, chap. 9, is the same with that described in Gal., chap. 1. But much of the argument for the commonly received view rests on this identification, and loses its strength when the identification is broken up.

2. The identification of the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 2: 1-10, with the *council* visit, Acts, chap. 15, is beset with difficulties. This is confessed even by those who advocate the identification, but the difficulties are greater than they are willing to acknowledge.

There are certainly some resemblances between the two visits. In each, Barnabas is associated with Paul. In each, James and Peter are prominent. In each, matters connected with Gentile disciples are under discussion. In each, the question of being circumcised and keeping the law of Moses is raised. In connection with each, mistaken brethren are mentioned as interfering with liberty. But in the affair of Gal., chap. 2, John appears associated with James and Peter; he does not so appear in the Acts. Titus figures conspicuously in the account in the epistle, and not at all in that in the Acts. In the affair of the Acts, Paul and Barnabas go up as the result of appointment by the church; in that of Gal. chap. 2, Paul goes up by revelation. The affair in the Acts is the result of dissensions in the church, and is as public as any affair can well be; the affair in Galatians is one in which Paul acted "privately." The matter in the Acts was publicly considered before a large council, while that in Galatians, so far as appears, was decided by a few men of reputation as leaders. The account in Galatians seems to be an account of the first recognition by the Jerusalem apostles of the work of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles; but the account in the Acts is of an affair that occurred some years after Barnabas had been officially sent from Jerusalem to labor among the Greeks at Antioch, Acts 11: 22; and not less than a year or two after Saul and Barnabas had been sent to Jerusalem with alms from these Gentile Christians, Acts 11: 30. These considerations exclude the possibility that the visit of Acts, chap. 15, is the

same with that of Gal. chap. 2. To these should be added the entirely separate consideration that the account in Galatians seems to imply that Saul had not been to Jerusalem between the visit of Gal. 1:18, and that of 2:1. It follows that this latter visit must have preceded the *relief* visit, Acts 11:30; 12:25, while the affair of Acts, chap. 15, certainly follows the *relief* visit.

3. There are strong reasons (though reasons that have been much neglected) for regarding the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 2:1-10, as identical with the *recognition* visit, Acts 9:26-30.

The very names that we have used thus far, based as they are upon the statements made in the two passages, suggest this identification. In a case like this, fellowship is not materially different from recognition. "The apostles" of the account in the Acts correspond to the men "of repute," the "pillars," the "James and Cephas and John" of the account in Galatians. In each account, Barnabas is associated with Saul. According to Acts 9:26, Saul "assayed to join himself to the disciples," while Paul's account of the matter is Gal. 2:2, 9: "I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain And when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship."

These two statements as to the objects of the visit agree. If the events of Acts 9:26-30 had already taken place, there would have been no occasion for the visit of Gal. chap. 2. Paul had been preaching fourteen years in Damascus and other parts of Syria, and in his native Tarsus and other parts of Cilicia. He had founded churches there, Acts 15:41. There was danger that the gospel he was preaching would come to be considered a different religion from that preached by the apostles at Jerusalem. He wished to join himself to them, securing from them a recognition that they were all teachers of the same gospel. Further, the two accounts agree in representing that suspicions and difficulties stood in the way, but that the recognition sought was finally secured. Afterward, if the two accounts be of the same event, the reasons for being private ceased to

exist, and Saul was with the apostles at Jerusalem, publicly teaching there with them, recognized by them as a fellow laborer, until persecution arose, and he was obliged to flee to Tarsus, Acts 9: 28-30.

At first thought, one might object to this that the passage Acts 9:26-30 is to be regarded as an account of something that occurred soon after Saul's conversion, and not of something that occurred fourteen years later. But if one will look carefully at the passage and its context, he will probably be convinced that there may have been an interval of time between the events of verses 26-30 and those narrated in the preceding verses. Paul explicitly declares in Galatians that three years elapsed after his conversion before he went to Jerusalem at all. As we have seen, the common view is that three years intervened between Saul's conversion and the events of Acts 9:26-30, and the continuity is no more broken if the interval is fourteen years, than if it were three years.

4. With this identification many difficulties are removed, and it becomes easy to complete the solution of the problem, and to fix the important dates. Saul, as we have seen, was persecuted, and went to Tarsus. Meanwhile, Barnabas, having been recognized along with Saul as one who should "go unto the Gentiles," was formally appointed by the Jerusalem church to look after the work among the Greeks at Antioch, Acts 11:20-24. From Antioch he went to Tarsus, and returned bringing Saul with him, verses 25-26. A year later, Barnabas and Saul, remembering their promise, Gal. 2:10, concerning the poor, went to Jerusalem carrying relief. This was Saul's third visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, and, as we have just seen, occurred somewhat more than a year after his second visit, the second visit being that described in Gal. chap. 2, and Acts chap. 9.

If we had no information save that in the book of Acts, we should be inclined to date this almsbringing visit in the year in which Herod Agrippa I. died; for the account of the killing of James, the imprisonment of Peter, and the death of the king is inserted between the two verses that give the account of this

visit. The year of Herod's death was A.D. 44. But we learn from Josephus that the famine, by reason of which the relief was sent, occurred after the death of Herod, under his successors Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. That is, it lasted more years than one, and was within the period from 45 A.D. to 50 A.D. The stipulation that they should remember the poor, Gal. 2:10, seems to indicate that, at the time of the *fellowship* visit, the suffering from the famine had already begun. Hence we might date the *fellowship* visit and the *relief* visit in any two successive years between A.D. 45 and A.D. 50. As a matter of fact, we must date them as early in this period as possible, in order to allow sufficient time for Paul's first and second missionary journeys, which followed soon after. Thus we have A.D. 45 for the visit of *fellowship* and *recognition*, and A.D. 46 as the year of the visit of *relief*.

This gives us the following cast of events. Notice how, in this cast, some events that are commonly regarded as very unmanageable slip readily into place. This fact is a strong confirmation of the correctness of the views here advanced.

Assuming that the crucifixion occurred at Easter of A.D. 30, the death of Stephen probably occurred the same year, some weeks or some months after Pentecost.

Then the remainder of A.D. 30, with the whole of A.D. 31 and some part of A.D. 32 constituted the time when Saul was persecuting the church.

A.D. 32 was the year of Saul's conversion, the fourteen years of Gal. 2:1 being the year 32, the year 45, and the twelve intervening years. Persecution did not cease at once, but was still carried on by his associates, and by others. Saul's mission to the Gentiles was declared immediately upon his conversion, Acts 9:15, 26:17.

The year of the *Cephas* visit was A.D. 34, the three years of Gal. 1:18 being A.D. 32, 33, 34. By this time, perhaps, the persecution had ceased, and "peace" (Acts 9:31) had come to the churches. In consequence of the scattering by the persecution, the Gospel had been preached to Jews throughout Judaea, Samaria, Galilee, the Damascus region, and Cyprus, and very

likely already in Cyrene, Phoenicia, the Antioch region, and other regions, Acts, chap. 8, 9:1-14, 31; 11:19; 4:36, etc. Saul himself had been laboring among the Jews in Damascus, 9:20, 22, and had been to Arabia and returned, Gal. 1:17. Had he already begun preaching to the Gentiles? And had Peter already met Cornelius, and learned that Gentiles might receive the Gospel? As to these questions we have no information, but we may conjecturally answer them both in the negative. We are told nothing as to the subjects of conference between Cephas and Saul at this visit, but we naturally infer that they considered the question of coöperation in the work of the Gospel, and that the conference was without apparent result.

Saul's escape from Damascus in a basket, under Aretas, Acts 9:25; 2 Cor. 11:32, is by some dated either early in A.D. 37 or between A.D. 38 and A.D. 41. These dates are not very well established, but as Saul went from the *Cephas* visit to Syria, Gal. 1:21, and as Damascus was in Syria, there is no difficulty in the idea that his escape by the basket was after the visit.

A.D. 44 was the year of Saul's splendid revelations by vision from God, when he was caught up into the third heaven, 2 Cor., chap. 12; for these revelations, he says, occurred fourteen years before the writing of 2 Corinthians, and this epistle was written A.D. 57, and both terminal years are to be counted in the fourteen. This was also the year of the death of James and the imprisonment of Peter. Saul had now been preaching in Syria and Cilicia for ten years since his visit to Cephas, Gal. 1:21-24. He was personally unknown, but favorably known by reputation, among the Judæan churches. That Gentiles were included in his ministrations appears from Gal., chap. 2. That he founded churches appears from Acts 15:41. Meanwhile the Jerusalem apostles and their followers had doubtless greatly enlarged their work, in different regions, among the Jews, and, beginning with Peter's visit to Cornelius, had done some work among Gentiles. Possibly the church at Rome was already founded. Probably the preaching to Greeks at Antioch by compatriots of Barnabas had now begun, Acts 11:20. The religion of Jesus was growing rapidly in two sections, the one headed by the

Jerusalem apostles, and containing a small Gentile element, and the other headed by Saul, and containing a large Gentile element. There was reason for exultation over its rapid growth; but there was also reason for anxiety lest the two sections should become two different and antagonistic religions.

As to the things revealed to Saul, at this eventful period in his experience, we have no information. It is difficult to believe, however, that none of them referred to the existing condition of Christ's kingdom; and we naturally infer that they were somehow or other connected with his going up, the following year, "by revelation," to Jerusalem, for his *fellowship* visit there. Matters had ripened since his previous visit, and he had now more reason to hope for success. Somehow, moreover, he had come into relations with Barnabas, and Barnabas would be an influential mediator.

In A.D. 45 occurred the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 11:1-10. Identifying this with the *recognition* visit, Acts 9:26-30, the man who had been so recently exalted to the third heaven, in the revelations made him, was doubtless deeply mortified at being compelled to flee for his life. Yet the fellowship that had been established was fruitful. One result of it was that Barnabas was appointed by the Jerusalem church to look after the work among the Greeks in Antioch. From this it resulted that Saul was called to Antioch, and that, in a few months, Christianity made wonderful advances there.

The *relief* visit was made in A.D. 46, and the first missionary journey may have begun the latter part of the same year or any time thereafter. Positively this tour must have taken a good deal more time than the few months sometimes assigned to it. It was followed by the dissensions at Antioch, and the *council* visit at Jerusalem, and then by the second missionary tour. In this tour, as the events are commonly understood, Paul revisited the churches of Syria, Cilicia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia, evangelized Galatia, crossed into Europe, labored at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens, and reached Corinth in the summer or early autumn of A.D. 52. This work, again, demands a good deal more time than the fraction of a year assigned to it by some

writers. A fairly general agreement among some recent scholars dates the council at Jerusalem in A.D. 50; the time will be better distributed if we assign the council to 49 A.D., and suppose that the first tour began in A.D. 46.

Those who hold that the *council* visit, Acts 15, is the same with the *fellowship* visit, Gal. 2:1-10, find it difficult to understand the conduct of Cephas, Gal. 2:11-14. Cephas was now an older and wiser and more responsible man than in the days when he denied the Lord. He took an influential part in the decision of the council at Jerusalem. It is not credible that, a few months after that council, he went to Antioch, and conducted himself in the manner described in Gal. 2:11-14. It is credible that he did this at some time between Saul's *fellowship* visit, A.D. 45, and the meeting of the council, A.D. 49. Very likely Paul and Barnabas found him at Antioch on their return from their first tour. He had come with very cordial feelings toward the Gentile Christians—he, the man to whom God had shown by miracle that nothing is unclean. He went to an extreme in neglecting the restrictions of the Jewish law, and afterward went to the opposite extreme. For this Paul rebuked him, but Barnabas took sides with him and his friends, and, later, the two were sent to Jerusalem on the matter. Meanwhile Peter found his true bearings, and was influential in bringing to a happy settlement the question which had arisen partly through his own impulsive conduct.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN SOME OF ITS THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL RELATIONS.

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II.

We have now reached the point where it becomes evident that this sketch of the speculative Christology held by the philosophers from Kant to Hegel has an important bearing upon the subject of modern criticism and theology. David F. Strauss forced the question of the historical reality of Christ into the foreground although his own answer was in the negative. He was a pupil of Hegel in Berlin until Hegel died in 1831. Then Strauss heard Schleiermacher. So two highly speculative and powerful minds influenced Strauss who adopted the philosophy of the one and was directed to the gospels by the other. Hegel's distinction between the *notion* as philosophy and the *idea* as religion, which were said to be formally but not materially different, troubled him. Strauss was a student of Scripture and he could not help asking: Do the gospels belong merely to the covering, the envelope, of the *idea* which is capable of being torn off by reason from the inner pure thought? Or, do the gospels and their meaning form an essential part of the material alike in both *notion* and *idea*, in philosophy and in religion? Is the person of Christ a mere element in the form and so not essential? Or, has he value for the matter, the notion, speculative thought? Assuming the Hegelian doctrine of the Absolute, Strauss then asked: can I not with the critical method work the life of Jesus as it is set forth in the gospels into harmony with the Hegelian philosophy? This he accomplished but only by attributing all that was supernatural in the life of Christ to myth and legend, leaving only a pure and wise man.

Strauss was attacked from all sides; by Hegelians who believed

that he misrepresented Hegel; and by many theologians such as Neander, Ullmann, Tholuck, Hengstenberg and others. These men maintained the gospel record of Christ as real in history. From this time forward the speculative construction of the life of Christ gave place to questions concerning the nature and reliability of the sacred literature and to Christ's historical reality as the chief problem.

An important factor in the renewed investigation of Scripture was the Tübingen school under the leadership of Baur. Agreeing with Strauss in his philosophical views Baur yet looked at the problem otherwise. With Baur, the problem was to understand Christ, not, as with Strauss, to explain him away. He wished to escape Strauss' mythical theory which was unscientific because Strauss had not applied the principles of criticism to the gospels themselves and neglected the fact of Christ's existence. Baur gave Christ so much positive importance in history that the tendency was to acknowledge his historical reality.¹ The school of Baur revived the knowledge of the early church and forced New Testament criticism to become a science; but, while it gave much importance to Christ, it was so philosophical that it failed to come face to face with Christ as the creator of Christianity.

The fact which has the most importance for this discussion is that the reaction against Strauss, and later against the Tübingen school marked the beginning of a new epoch in religious thought and biblical science. It created the school of Neander and others inspired by a like spirit, who sought to give both the Old and the New Testaments their true place and to recognize Christ's historical reality fully. I believe that the evangelical critic in his opposition to the rationalist concerning the whole Bible is fairly called the representative of this new movement.

I have now reached the point of view which enables me to show more clearly the already implied distinction between the rationalist and the evangelical critic. We have traced the move-

¹ It was the Hegelian principle, out of difference and contradiction, unity comes; thesis Jesus, of Nazareth as Messiah; antithesis, Jesus as Christ, the Saviour of the world; synthesis, the Catholic Church with its law, priesthood and ceremonial for all. In this historical sketch, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the able work of A. M. Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, N. Y., 1893.

ment of speculative thought from English deism, through France to the rationalism of Germany. We saw what prominence was given to natural laws in a mechanical view of the world. Supplementary to this view of the world was the mathematical method or theory of knowledge for the first time clearly expressed in the Discourse on Method by Descartes, reappearing in Spinoza, then in Leibnitz with some modifications whose teachings were popularized by Wolf resulting in the generally accepted principle that every truth to be accepted must be capable of demonstration and positive proof. Then followed the speculations concerning Christ and Christianity from Kant to Hegel and Strauss, resulting, as has been shown, in the entire loss of the historical reality of Christ.

It is difficult to fix upon any one of the systems of the past as characteristic of the thought of the present. But I think we are safe in affirming that the rationalistic critic, such as Reuss, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, is one in whom the speculations I have reviewed find a representative. For example: Why should any critic of either Testament rule out the supernatural and the miraculous as impossible?¹ Has he not made the assumption that the universe is a closed system in which natural law is an inviolable something forbidding all interference from without, that in this world from the first was all that afterwards became manifest? That Christianity was in the world in germ from the beginning? Or, speaking less according to the deist and more after the manner of Schelling and Hegel, that there can be no supernatural manifested in a particular Christ for all is supernatural, and supernatural is natural because the incarnation of the Absolute is universal, that is pantheism?

Again, men like Reuss, Kuenen and Wellhausen, attempt a reconstruction of Jewish literature and history prompted by speculative assumptions perhaps unconsciously made. Everything in the history of Israel must be in harmony with logical development. A full revelation of a complete body of Levitical laws to

¹ See A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, N. Y., 1892, p. 497f. for a good discussion of present thought. Also James Martineau's work, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, whose object is to show that the authority in religion is God immanent in human reason.

Moses would have been a violation of the steady syllogistic unfolding of the idea in history for, as Hegel said, the actual must always be the rational. I find also a remnant of the Leibnitz-Wolfian theory of knowledge, namely, prove everything with mathematical exactness and reject all that does not admit of such demonstration. The supernatural and the miraculous factors in Judaism and Christianity do not admit such demonstration and consequently must be rejected.

If the rationalistic critic has such assumptions and prejudices, he differs widely from the evangelical critic. The latter assumes that the supernatural and the miraculous in religion are not only possible but actual. This of course is not a deistical position. Nor are we in these days shut up to the deistic or even the Hegelian view of the world. To-day such a philosophy as that of Lotze, a theistic monism, serves the evangelical critic better because it provides for the possibility of the miracle¹ and because it is more true to life and history. The theory of development which lies at the basis of evangelical criticism in its application to progressive revelation is not logical but morphological and biological—life acting and reacting and adjusting itself to its environment.²

Especially does the evangelical critic differ from the rationalist in assuming that there is a divine authority in the Scriptures. He proceeds to "inquire what the Scriptures teach about themselves and to separate this divine authority from all other authority."³ Consequently, his criticism does not concern inspiration directly which is assumed. These Christian scholars also set a limit to their results by their fidelity to Scripture; for "they admit freely that the traditional beliefs as to the dates and origin of the several books may be brought in question without involving any doubt as to their inspiration, yet confidently affirm that any theories of

¹ Lotze, *Microcosmus II.*, 479 ff. Lotze makes the possibility of the miracle dependent upon the close and intimate action and reaction between the world and the personal Absolute in consequence of which the movements of the natural world are carried on only *through* the Absolute with the possibility of a variation in the general course of things according to existing facts and the purposes of the divine Governor.

² H. Spencer's conception of development, expressed in his works on biology and sociology is instructive at this point.

³ C. A. Briggs, *Biblical Study*, N. Y., 1883, p. 171.

the origin or authorship of any book of either Testament which ascribes to them a purely naturalistic genesis, or dates, or authors inconsistent with either their own natural claims or the assertions of other Scripture are plainly inconsistent with the doctrine of inspiration taught by the church."¹ Despite some differences in results this is the general position of the evangelical critic with reference to the authority of the Scripture.

It must now be clear that the differences between the rationalist and the evangelical critic have nothing to do with the principles of higher criticism which are necessarily common to both parties. But the differences depend upon the assumptions and prejudices with which each approaches the Scriptures. We are, therefore, shut up to a choice, not between different principles and methods of literary criticism, but between the assumptions and prejudices of the rationalist and those of the evangelical critic.

If we decide with the evangelical critic, we are pledged to a warfare against the rationalist according to the principles of higher criticism and within the limit already given. *Christian* scholars who strive bitterly against each other, simply miss the question at issue. When certainty as to the meaning of Scripture has been reached according to the principles of critical investigation, let it be put over against the rationalistic negations without fear of successful contradiction ; let it be brought into a theology whose philosophical basis is so firm and so true that the conclusions of rationalism shall be forever untenable.

Finally, I wish to show that biblical criticism by emphasizing the human factor in Scripture and by directing attention to the humanity of Christ as a real character of history has done much towards making a true philosophy of Christianity possible. It is doubtful whether there is any *science* of religion prepared to offer to philosophy facts and principles for consideration and unification. Rather does philosophy have to go directly to human life

¹ *Presbyterian Review*, II., 244. It is an interesting fact that this limit to criticism was accepted by the participants in the discussion of 1882 and 1883 in which very different views were expressed. For list of disputants, see Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, N. Y., 1893, p., 130.

as a whole for its facts and principles in order to form a philosophy of religion. In this appeal to human nature, it is found that religion embraces the whole intellectual and spiritual nature and is not unrelated to the physical. A philosophy of religion must take cognizance of such facts as the following: (*a*) a vague feeling of complete dependence which with Schleiermacher was the source of the religious life; (*b*) the feeling and idea of moral obligation; (*c*) the feeling for the not merely useful but also for the beautiful; (*d*) "the metaphysical impulse which demands a cause of recurrent groupings of experience, a "substratum," a Being in the world of reality;" (*e*) "the unifying of all experience in some known or postulated unity of reality."¹ These facts the philosophy of religion must consider together with that higher and yet concrete representation of them by which ethical laws become the will of God, individual finite spirits not mere products of nature but children of God, actuality not a mere course of the world but the kingdom of God.² Thus the philosophy of religion concerns man in his constant relations and interchange of life with the personal God in which communion the personality of each is preserved; for religion is God the Father in constant vital relation with the children of men; "for in Him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of our own poets have said, "For we are also his offspring."

If such an understanding of religion be correct, no inspiration of sacred writers would remove their personal characteristics and their fallibility. In their productions, we may expect errors growing out of their limitations and peculiarities, yet errors not conflicting with the essential revelation; we may expect the whole religious life to show the presence of God in the developing human life. The human side of religion would never be lost sight of.

Has the higher criticism contributed anything towards the proper recognition of the human side of religion as well as the divine? It has done so, first, because it has made the Bible a

¹ G. T. Ladd, *Introduction to Philosophy*, Chap. XIII.

² Lotze, *Philosophy of Religion*, Tr. Sec. 80. See also Ed. von Hartmann's *Die Religion des Geistes*, for an able and suggestive analysis of religious life even in an *un-christian* philosophy.

book of *life* as it has been lived in the great movements of history. "Fresh light from the ancient monuments," the examination of the sacred writings and other sources of information have given to the Old Testament a new reality and vividness as the record of man's emotions, thoughts and hopes while he lived consciously in the closest relations with the personal God. Secondly, criticism has filled up the traditional gap of centuries between the Old and the New Testaments, and shown that God did not leave Israel without guidance when she needed it most under the Persian and the Greek yoke exposed to other religions and civilizations. But this was impossible on the traditional view which assigns all the law to Moses, all psalms to David, all the wisdom to Solomon. But there were many writers, and God was with Israel in that long period of waiting for the Messiah. From David on to the Maccabæan period, Israel was singing and praying, not backsliding. The heart of the people responded to the law of God in sacred psalms full of devotion.¹ So criticism shows, on the one hand, that there was a constant religious activity in Israel ; and, on the other hand, that there was an unbroken continuity in divine revelation until the summit was reached in Jesus Christ and his apostles. Thus criticism has done much to open the way to a true philosophy of the Christian religion by compelling a fuller recognition of the human as well as divine side of religion.

Also in emphasizing the humanity of Christ, the same service to the philosophy of religion has been rendered. The reaction against Strauss removed the far away theological Christ and restored to the religious life the Christ of the Gospels, Jesus, our loving, suffering Lord and Saviour. Jesus as human shares all the changes and weaknesses apart from sin incident to the earthly life. All that I wish to maintain in this connection is that the return to the human Saviour is not only in the line of what we might expect, since religion is the specific expression of the relations of men and God, but also in the line of what must be if there is to be a true philosophy of the Christian religion. If we

¹ C. A. Briggs, *The Bible, the Church and the Reason*, 148 ff.; also S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, N. Y., 1892, p. 351 f., 363 f., 467 f., as examples.

lose sight of the human element of revelation, its adaptation to life as it has been and is, we enter the path to a speculative Christology which will rob us of the real Saviour. We must have the actual, pitying Jesus. If critical investigation has established the basis of our belief in such a Saviour more firmly, we should have only gratitude to those scholars who have so skilfully accomplished their task.

In conclusion, shall we, while seeking the true philosophy of the Christian religion, entirely forget those marvelous speculations and Christologies from Kant to Hegel in which the supreme life of spirit was found in religion, and religion became the final problem? We may not be satisfied with Hegel's "Das Andere ist bestimmt als Sohn"¹ or even with Baur's *thesis*; but shall we lose sight of the impressive thought, which certainly was Hegel's, that Christ is the center of the truest philosophy of religion? If the life of Israel set forth in the Old Testament had its goal in the first advent of the Messiah; if prophecy also centers in the second coming of Christ; if he is the head of the church, and the director of the destinies of mankind; if all history actually moves on towards the consummation of his kingdom; if, finally, the essence of religion is the relation and the communion of men and God, Jesus Christ, the human divine Saviour, must be the alpha and omega of religion, and the philosophy of religion must be the philosophy of Christ.

If the Christian religion is ultimate; if "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain with us," yearning for the fulfillment of the purposes, the philosophy of all nature and spirit must be in some sense the philosophy of Christ.

¹ Hegel's *Werke*, XII. p. 206.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A new phase of University Extension work seems to be coming into prominence, namely, Biblical lecture courses. This is a line of work which must be carefully and judiciously guarded. In this as in no other single subject, because it appeals to so large a constituency, there is danger of producing a "fad," and consequently more or less sham. A spirit of generous rivalry between the different Extension organizations working in the same field is undoubtedly productive of good, as it stimulates interest and action where perhaps a single organization would die out, but too great a rivalry is attended with evil.

In order to guard against the overstocking of the field with second-rate lecturers, and the creation of a general uproar in the line of biblical study with no abiding results, the American Institute of Sacred Literature proposes an attempt to unify and strengthen the work of all Extension societies in this department of work by becoming itself a central council to which all Extension societies may refer for the suggestion of the names of the best lecturers in all biblical lines, for choice in regard to programs, syllabi, etc.

The Institute will, through its many departments, keep a close watch of the entire field, and wherever there seems to be an opening for biblical work, the nearest University Extension organization will have its attention called to the matter, and thus be enabled to propose its courses with authority. All societies entering this union will, of course, give no biblical lectures without first submitting the name of the lecturer, with the subject of his lectures, to the Institute. Under this arrangement the University of Chicago offers the following courses of biblical lectures this winter:

William R. Harper, Ph.D., D.D., President of the University; The Stories of Genesis, six lectures.

Richard G. Moulton, Ph.D., Professor of English Literature; Studies in Biblical Literature, twelve lectures.

Emil G. Hirsch, Ph.D., Professor of Rabbinical Literature and Philosophy; Religion in the Talmud, six lectures; The Jewish Sects, six lectures; Biblical Literature, six lectures; The History of Judaism, six lectures.

Ernest D. Burton, A.B., Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis; The Second Group of Paul's Letters, twelve lectures.

Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Associate Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literature: What the Monuments Tell Us Relative to the Old Testament, six lectures. (Illustrated by stereopticon slides of the monuments). The Forgotten Empires and the Old Testament, twelve lectures. (Illustrated).

Oliver J. Thatcher, A.B., Assistant Professor of History; The Apostolic Church, twelve lectures: The Life and Work of Paul, six lectures,

N. I. Rubinkam, Ph.D., Lecturer in Old Testament Literature; The Five Megilloth (Rolls), six lectures.

Clyde W. Votaw, A.M., B.D., Docent in New Testament Literature; Sources and Relations of the Four Gospels, six lectures; Jewish and Christian Writings Parallel with, but Excluded from, Our Bible, twelve lectures; Some Aspects of the Life of Christ, six lectures.

Chas. F. Kent, Ph.D., Docent in Biblical Literature; Social Philosophy of the Hebrews, six lectures: Hebrew Wisdom Literature, six lectures; Messages of the Neglected Books—Studies in the Minor Prophets, six lectures.

Theophilus H. Root, A.B., B.D., Tutor in New Testament Literature; The Life of Christ, six lectures.

Exploration and Discovery.

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH AND THE DATE OF GENESIS.

By REV. CAMDEN M. COBERN, PH.D.,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

In THE BIBLICAL WORLD for October appears an interesting article commending to American readers Dr. Steindorff's identification of Zaphenath-Paneah, Asenath and Poti-phera (Gen. 41: 45, 50; 46: 20) with Egyptian names of a late period. This article intimates confidently that this identification offers a new and conclusive proof that Joseph and his relatives could not really have borne such names as the Bible gives them, and therefore that the passages in which the misstatements appear must have been written not earlier than 930 B. C., and most probably in the seventh century B. C. when such names became common.

This suggestion is not a startlingly new one. It has been four years or more since Dr. Steindorff openly published it in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, and it has been often referred to since in German and American reviews. That the discussion has been of any great significance in settling the date of Genesis it is difficult to believe for various reasons:

1. Divergent views have been and are yet held by competent Egyptologists as to what hieroglyphic groups exactly correspond to the names given above. Other groups than those preferred by Dr. Steindorff have been declared by distinguished Egyptologists to answer "letter for letter" to these Hebrew names.

2. Since the publication of Dr. Steindorff's views, it has been stated by high authority that the very groups which have been selected by him as exactly corresponding to the names in Genesis can be read upon monuments which are as old as the era of Joseph. This indeed seems to be granted in the case of Asenath by the writer of the paper in the October issue of this review.

3. Granting that the names given by Dr. Steindorff are exact equivalents of the Hebrew names, and granting also that they have never been found on any monument earlier than the tenth to seventh century B. C.; yet to infer from this that the book of Genesis was not written until the seventh century before our era, would seem to be a conclusion more generous than just.

These names may have been XXVIth dynasty explanations or translations of XIIth dynasty forms, just as "*Salvatorem Mundi*" was the IVth century translation of one of those very names given by St. Jerome in the Vulgate.

Again, the Egyptian literature is confessedly fragmentary, and an Egyptologist must be of very sanguine spirit who can argue with confidence that because those names have not been found on any recovered monument earlier than the XXIId dynasty, therefore they were never used in Egypt previous to that date. If our Bible were torn in pieces and scattered to the four winds it would appear no bashful assumption if some foreigner, after examining a handful of leaves which he had succeeded in finding, should affirm that it was now settled that no man by the name of Joseph was ever mentioned in the Hebrew or Christian Scriptures, for no such name could be read on any of his fragments.

Synopses of Important Articles.

WAS THERE A GOLDEN CALF AT DAN? A note on 1 Kings 12:29,30 and other passages. By VEN. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., in *The Expositor* for October, 1893. Pp. 254-265.

Tradition, for 2,500 years, as well as the statements of rabbis down to the present time, would answer the question affirmatively. "There are some grounds for the view that there were two calves at Bethel, and that there was no calf at Dan, but only the old idolatrous ephod and images of Micah" (Judges 17:4). These so-called calves were only cherubic images such as those sanctioned by Aaron, by Moses and by Solomon. On this point we must note that Jeroboam's calves neither did nor were intended to interfere with the worship of Jehovah. This is seen in the fact that the kings of the northern kingdom never persecuted, suppressed or repudiated the worship of Jehovah, and that on the other hand many of them had names which embodied therein an element (Jah) of the divine Name. No prophet before Amos and Hosea condemned calf-worship. There is no word of reprobation of calf-worship by any southern prophet or king, except the speech put in the mouth of Abijah, son of Rehoboam, by the chronicler (2 Chron. 11:15; 13:8). If these calves were the cherubic emblems which were regarded as intolerably wicked by the chronicler of five centuries later, though not condemned by king and prophet, is it not extremely probable that there were *two calves* at Bethel and not one? If such were their form it is not more probable that Jeroboam would have placed *two* of these symbols at Bethel than that he placed one? Hosea 10:5 speaks of "the calves of Beth-Aven." "If there were *two* calves . . . at Bethel, this fact and the constant reference to them as two in number—would naturally help to stereotype the notion that one of them was at Dan and one at Bethel when once it had arisen; especially since there was *also* a highly irregular cult at Dan, and the growth of centuries tended to obliterate the distinctness of facts which were only preserved for long centuries by dim tradition" (p. 259). There is no reference in all the history of the northern and southern kingdoms to a calf at Dan except possibly in Amos 8:14. Further, it is *a priori* improbable that Jeroboam would think of erecting a golden calf at Dan, because (1) the place was on the remote border of his dominions, and entered but slightly into the stream of Israelitish history; (2) there was an ancient sanctuary at Dan already (Judg. 18:14, 18), and this was officered by the same line of priests "to the days of the captivity of the land" (Judg. 18:30).

The only two passages which militate against these conclusions may be

explained as follows: (1) Amos 8:14 says nothing of a golden calf at Dan, "only "as thy god, O Dan, liveth." It is unlikely that this refers to a golden calf at Dan, because in that case there could "be no reason for passing over the far more prominent calf or calves at Bethel" (p. 261), and because the sin of Samaria was probably some Baal-image or Asherah there. Amos exercised his prophetic gifts at Bethel, but never once mentions calf-worship.

Hosea speaks of several headquarters of idolatrous worship, but never mentions Dan. In 8:5, 6; 10: 5; 13:2 he speaks of *calf-worship*, but only at Beth-aven and Samaria. In Zechariah 9-11, though occupied with the later kings, there is no allusion to calves either at Dan or Bethel. Finally, the passage in 1 Kings 12:28-30 evidently contains on the face of it a textual difficulty. In verse 30, in place of *the one*, by changing a single letter, we may read *the ephod*. This corresponds exactly to the conclusions arrived at above, viz., the calves were set up at Bethel, and the old ephod of Micah was regarded as the consecrated thing in Dan.

Dr. Farrar has ingeniously constructed his line of argument, but the careful reader will notice several cracked links in the chain. The dangerous *e silentio* argument is required to do rather more than its legitimate service. The question is not yet satisfactorily answered.

PRICE.

JESUS' SELF-DESIGNATION IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. By ORELLO CONE, D.D., in *The New World* for September, 1893. Pages 492-518.

The inquiries raised by Jesus' designation of himself in the synoptic gospels as "The Son of Man" are among the most difficult in New Testament theology, and though many of the ablest scholars have proposed solutions of the problem, a consensus of opinion has not yet been reached.

The Old Testament uses the term "son of man" as a synonym for "man" with emphasis upon the idea of dependence on God. The use of the term in Jewish apocalyptic literature begins with the familiar passage in the seventh chapter of Daniel. The "one like unto a son of man" symbolizes the human qualities of the victorious prophetic people in contrast with the bestial attributes which appear in the preceding type. The term "son of man," therefore, here also implies only human attributes, and is not as yet distinctly Messianic. The hint, however, of a Messianic use of the term in this passage gives rise in the later apocalypse of Enoch to its use as a distinct designation of the Messiah. The picture of the Messiah given under this name is very different from the traditional Hebrew idea, and presents him as a mighty ruler and a judge, but not even yet as divine.

Numerous New Testament examples show that the term "son" followed by the genitive of a noun designates one possessing the attributes of the latter. Cf. such expressions as "sons of light," "sons of the most high," etc. According to this usage "the son of man"—it must be taken into

account that both nouns have the article in Greek—implies that he who applies the term to himself is conscious of belonging to the species man, representing in himself the essential qualities of the race (so Holsten).

The general attitude of Jesus toward the Old Testament favors the view that he derived his use of the term from the Old Testament (not including Daniel) rather than that he took it from the apocalyptic literature, or himself invented it. The synoptic passages, however, in which it occurs, fall into two distinct classes, those in which the term bears a sense naturally derivable from the Old Testament use, and those in which it was the apocalyptic sense. It cannot be that both classes represent Christ's own usage. This would be to put him into sharp contradiction with himself. As between the two, a sane and reverent interpretation of Jesus' teaching and spirit decides for the passages of the first class as those which come from Jesus himself, and judges that those of the second class have been incorrectly attributed to him by the evangelists, who must indeed have had some basis for this in a Messianic claim on the part of Jesus, but who have shaped his actual sayings under the influence of Jewish apocalyptic ideas.

This explanation relieves the whole problem of much of its difficulty, presenting to us a self-consistent and sober use of the term on the part of Jesus. By it, we conclude, he designates himself as man, yet without its being a designation of mere humanity. The presence of the article is significant, and taken in connection with his claim of lordship over the Sabbath, and of authority to forgive sins, shows that he thought of himself as having an exalted spiritual function and ministry, and an exceptional rank among the sons of men, as being the Man preëminently.

In so far as this article is a criticism of the views of Meyer and others who have interpreted "the son of man" as applied by Jesus to himself in the apocalyptic sense, and have thus found in it an explicit Messianic claim on his part, and in so far as it opposes the view that the term is an expression of divine nature, it is eminently just and reasonable. It may also fairly claim that it offers in a sense a simple solution of the problem. But it must be doubted whether this solution is not somewhat too easy; whether instead of resorting to the easy expedient of excluding from the problem one whole class of the passages in question, one ought not to make a more serious and painstaking attempt than the article gives evidence of to ascertain whether, when the passages are fairly interpreted, the two classes are so different that they could not both have proceeded, substantially as reported, from Jesus. The difference between them is, we are persuaded, somewhat exaggerated; there is an apparent failure to allow sufficiently for a fuller expression of Messianic claim on the part of Jesus toward the end of his life; and there is seeming neglect of the significance of the fact, which the author's own interpretation of the non-apocalyptic passages makes clear, that whenever the Enoch parables were written, they exerted no influence outside, possibly, of a narrow circle of the learned (of even this, is there any evidence?) in Jesus' own day, so that the attributing to him of these so-called apocalyptic sayings by no means attributes to him the ideas of the apocalyptic literature in general. E. D. B.

THE HISTORICAL DIFFICULTIES IN KINGS, JEREMIAH AND DANIEL. By REV. GEORGE DOUGLAS, in *The Expository Times* for September, 1893.

The conclusions of the writer are as follows :

(1) The first verse of the Book of Daniel, whose supposed inconsistency with Jeremiah and the historical scriptures has been to many evidence that the book is uninspired, and has caused some to doubt the prophet's historical existence, is, on the hypothesis of its Babylonian origin, in perfect harmony with these other writings, and that, not after a strange interpretation, but when read in the meaning which any child would attach to the words. (2) On the same hypothesis the first verse of the second chapter of Daniel, whose supposed inconsistency with the first chapter has been another evidence against the book, likewise harmonizes with it simply and completely. (3) Those passages in Kings and Jeremiah making mention of captivities in the eighth and nineteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar, which were supposed to contradict other passages in the same books referring the same captivities to the seventh and eighteenth years, are, when read in a reasonable way, confirmatory of them. (4) The statement in Kings and Jeremiah regarding the time of the relaxation of Jehoiakim's captivity, which appeared to differ from the rest of the sacred narrative and from the works of Berosus and Ptolemy, is, when viewed in the light of the tablets, in perfect harmony with them. The following table is presented as satisfying all scriptural statements :

Battle of Megiddo and death of Josiah,	-	-	-	-	609 B.C.
Jehoahaz begins to reign,	-	-	-	-	609
Jehoahaz taken captive by Pharaoh-Necho,	-	-	-	-	608
Jehoiakim set on throne by Pharaoh-Necho,	-	-	-	-	608
Fall of Nineveh,	-	-	-	-	? 606
Battle of Carchemish,	-	-	-	-	605
Jerusalem besieged and Jehoiakim taken by Nebuchadnezzar,	-	-	-	-	605
Captivity of Daniel and others,	-	-	-	-	605
Nebuchadnezzar succeeds to throne of Babylon : his first year according to Jewish reckoning,	-	-	-	-	605
His first year according to Babylonian reckoning,	-	-	-	-	604
Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream,	-	-	-	-	603
Death of Jehoiakim,	-	-	-	-	598
Jehoiachin begins to reign,	-	-	-	-	598
Zedekiah set on throne by Nebuchadnezzar,	-	-	-	-	597
Destruction of Jerusalem and deportation of Zedekiah and others,	-	-	-	-	587
Further deportation,	-	-	-	-	582
Death of Nebuchadnezzar and relaxation of Jehoiachin's captivity,	-	-	-	-	562

It is only fair to say that this article contains a good deal of that harmonizing work which has brought commentators and the Bible itself into disrepute. W. R. H.

Notes and Opinions.

German as an Aid in the Study of Theology.—“What more and what better can the Colleges do in fitting men for the study of Theology, and so in fitting men to become ministers?” This question is asked by President Charles F. Thwing, of Western Reserve University, who gives in the *Outlook* for October 7, extracts from the responses of various theological teachers. Prof. G. F. Moore of Andover, emphasizes the need of the study of German in the Colleges. He writes: “I will name only one point where the Colleges all seem to fail. We get very few men who have not studied German; and we do not get one in ten who can read German in such a way as to be of any use to him or us. Whether too little time is given to it, or whether it is not well taught, or whether the students themselves slight it, I cannot say. German is as indispensable now as ever Latin was to the student of theology.” President Thwing himself in commenting on the answers, writes: “The study of German is to be emphasized in the College, not merely for its own sake (although this is worthy), but also as a tool. German is the language of the best modern scholarship. The works most essential to a theologian are written in German; some of them which are the most necessary are not translated. No one can presume to be a thorough and ripe scholar in the important matters of theology without the ability to read German with facility. The testimony of Professor Moore of Andover, that nearly all students of theology are able to read German somewhat, but only a few are able to so read it as to make it of much value in theological investigation, is true beyond Andover. Colleges, therefore, should emphasize the study of German.” President Hartranft, of Hartford Seminary, in his letter, also states strongly this need.

T. H. R.

The Kingdom of God—The prominence in the theological thought of this day, of the idea of the kingdom of God, is an evident fact of no little importance. It is not strange that at present there should be much divergence of opinion in the interpretation of Christ's conception of the kingdom. Dr. Cone in the *New World* for September, as mentioned elsewhere in this number, maintains that Jesus conceived of the kingdom as belonging wholly to the present order of things, involving indeed a moral transformation of human society, but coming unobtrusively and gradually. Those sayings attributed to Jesus which refer to a future kingdom to be ushered in by his own second coming in power and glory, he regards as misrepresenting the real thought of Jesus. On the other hand, Dr. H. H. Wendt, of Heidelberg, in an article translated in the *Expository Times* for October, criticises the view

of Dr. J. Weiss, that Jesus regarded the kingdom of God simply as an eschatological state, such as will not and cannot be realized under the conditions of the present earthly dispensation, holding, on the contrary, that while in many passages Jesus does thus speak of a future kingdom, which indeed he looked to see established within the life-time of men then living by his return from heaven after his death, yet he also spoke of the kingdom of heaven as something already in existence. Thus we have presented to us three views, one that Jesus spoke only of a kingdom belonging to this dispensation, another that he spoke only of a kingdom belonging to a future dispensation, a third that he spoke of both. The point of agreement among these three writers is that our present gospels represent Jesus as speaking of a future kingdom to be set up on his return from heaven. Evidently there is still need to study this great term of Jesus' thought. E. D. B.

Work and Workers.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE COMPANY, which with the end of 1892 discontinued the publication of their *Magazine of Christian Literature*, substituting therefor the English publication, *The Thinker*, with the addition of bibliographical material prepared in New York, now issues (November) the first number of *Christian Literature and Review of the Churches*. The new magazine is reckoned as the Vol. 10. of the Christian Literature Magazine. The Christian Literature part consists of some thirty pages of articles, partly original, partly reprinted from English magazines, together with list of books received, and Index to Religious Periodicals. The Review of the Churches is the well-known English periodical of that name. The monthly bibliography, which was one of the most valuable features of the predecessors of the new journal, seems to have been dropped.

BIBLICAL scholarship has to lament the departure of a noble and candid student and teacher, and the Christian world the loss of a large-minded and sweet-spirited believer in the death of Dr. Schaff. We give a brief appreciation of him. Philip Schaff was born Jan. 1, 1819, at Coire, Switzerland. He studied theology at Tübingen, Halle and Berlin. In 1841 he passed his examination in theology at Berlin, and the next year began to lecture as a *privat docent*. In 1843 he was made professor in the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church of the United States at Mercersburg, Pa., where he remained till 1863. In 1869 he was made Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. He died in that city October 20, 1893.

Few men are better known in America than Dr. Schaff; he had been the teacher of hundreds of ministers of almost every denomination, and had written or edited enough books to make a large library, all of them good, many of them excellent. He was kept prominently before the Christian public by his connection with such important bodies as the Evangelical Alliance, the Pan-Presbyterian Council, the American Bible Revision Committee, and others, in all of which he was one of the recognized leaders.

In Berlin he was a pupil of the great and good Neander, who deeply influenced his development. He became thoroughly imbued with the methods, principles, spirit, and aims of the mediating school of theology of which Neander was a great representative. And Dr. Schaff never deserted this school. It has broadly influenced all his books, and characterized his work in the class-room. He always tried to hold fast to the old truths, without accepting the old formulas and definitions. He declared that Christianity is life,

not creed, and therefore there might be Christian unity with the greatest diversity of belief and practice.

To Dr. Schaff more than to any other man is due the great influence which "German Theology" is now exerting in America. He gave up a life of independent scientific investigation to become expounder, translator, and purveyor of the treasures of German thought and scholarship to the Church in America. For this we owe him a great debt of gratitude.

Great as he may have been as a scholar and professor, he was even greater as a Christian. His nature was clear and sunny as the air and meadows of his mountain home. His Christian character attracted and held his friends with rare power. His students were astonished at his learning, but they were filled with a strange awe as they listened to his prayers, revealing, as they did, a depth of Christian feeling and experience before unknown to them. His influence, in the direction of a wise liberality, Christian tolerance, true communion and fellowship in the spirit and love of the Master, cannot be estimated. He found and commended the Christ in everyone. His death is a loss to the whole Church.

O. J. T.

THERE has been introduced into the University of Cincinnati a series of Bible lectures in connection with the Extension courses. The extension work is carried on in the University building on Saturdays for the benefit of those who cannot attend at any other time. Professor Sproull, Dean of the University and Chairman of the Extension Faculty, came to the conclusion that there was a demand for lectures of a high order on biblical subjects. The matter was presented by him to the different ministerial associations of Cincinnati; namely, the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, and met with a hearty response. Each association appointed a committee of coöperation. The following program is announced :

Lectures on the Bible and Biblical Subjects, fourteen in number, will be given on Saturday mornings, from 10:30 to 11:30, at the University of Cincinnati, as follows :

November 4, 1893. The Ethics of Moses.—Rev. I. M. Wise, D.D., President of Hebrew Union College.

THE BIBLE.

November 11, 1893. Old Testament and New Testament Courses.—Professor M. S. Terry, Ph.D., Garrett Biblical Institute.

November 18, 1893. The Transmission of the Bible.—Rev. C. W. Rishell, Ph.D.

December 2, 1893. The Revised Version.—Professor W. W. Davies, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew, Ohio Wesleyan University.

THE BIBLE AND ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

December 9, 1893. Discovery and Decipherment of the Monuments.—Professor Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Associate Professor Semitic Languages and Literature, University of Chicago.

December 16, 1893. Egypt in the Days of Abraham, Joseph and Moses.—Professor J. R. Sampey, D.D., Professor Old Testament Literature, Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

January 6, 1894. The Fall of Assyria to the Fall of Babylon. Professor Ira M. Price, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

January 13, 1894. The Bible as Literature.—Rev. George A. Thayer, D.D.

THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS OF THE BIBLE.

January 20, 1894. Some Traits of the Hebrew Prophets.—Professor Edwin Cone Bissell, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

January 27, 1894. (Subject to be announced later).—Professor Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Professor Hebrew Language and Literature, Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.

February 3, 1894. (Subject and Lecture to be announced later).

THE POETICAL BOOKS OF THE BIBLE.

February 10, 1894. Job.—Rev. Dudley W. Rhodes, D.D.

February 17, 1894. The Psalms.—Rev. Frank Woods Baker, B.D.

February 24, 1894. Ecclesiastes.—Rev. Lewis Brown, B.D.

The public is cordially invited to be present at these lectures.

One or two changes will be made on this program. There is one Rabbi, also Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and a Unitarian. Up to the present time, one lecture has been given by Dr. Wise. The University Hall was crowded, a proof of the interest that can be awakened in the community by a scholarly treatment of such topics. A circular letter had been sent by the Dean to all the clergymen of the city, inviting the members of his congregation to be present.

W. O. S.

THE autumn meeting of the Chicago Society for Biblical Research was held at the Palmer House, Chicago, November 18. Papers were read by Professor Charles Horswell, Ph.D., of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., on "Romans 16:1-16 and its Relation to the Rest of the Epistle;" and by Professor Ira M. Price, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago, on "The Date of Obadiah."

Professor Price's positions are briefly summarized as follows: The Book of Obadiah is dated in King James's Version, and by Driver and Cornill, at or after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. The main supports of this view are (1) the hypothesis that this event furnishes the best explanation for Obadiah's words; (2) the relations of Obad. 1-9 and Jer. 49:7-22; (3) the hostility of the Edomites at that time. But, the Edomites showed a malicious spirit toward Israel throughout their history (cf. Amos 1:9), breaking out in open abuse several different times. Obadiah is admittedly more original, logical, and complete than Jeremiah. Of the seven captivities of Jerusalem, the most

appropriate for the events in Obad. 11-14, is that under Jehoram of Judah by the Philistines and Arabians, about 850 B. C. This occasion would answer the demands of the text, and present the natural consequences of the open revolt of the Edomites against Jehoram.

Professor Horswell's paper on Rom. 16:1-16, considered the arguments for and against the opinion that these verses were a part of Paul's letter to the Romans. The character and structure of the Book of Acts was held to be such as to render wholly unsafe any argument based on the assumption that the chronology of Paul's life could be gained from that book. The salutations of these verses were examined, and maintained to be in effect commendations of persons already better known to Paul than to the Roman Christians, and hence probably persons converted under his influence elsewhere. The bearing of Lightfoot's comparison of the names in the epistle with those occurring in the inscriptions, chiefly sepulchral, discovered in modern times in Rome was urged. The conclusion reached was that these verses are a genuine part of the original letter.

Comparative Religion Notes.

THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS has greatly stimulated the interest of thinking people in the study of Comparative Religion. The Report of the Proceedings of the Parliament will be even more effective. But it is not so generally known as it ought to be that a Society of Comparative Religion had been established in the United States for some time, and had been doing effective work in this great department of study before the Parliament came into existence. This organization is called "The American Society of Comparative Religion," and was formed at the University of the City of New York, May 9, 1890, as an outgrowth of the course of lectures on Comparative Religion in the graduate department of that institution, given by Professor F. F. Ellinwood, D.D., Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, and Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of the City of New York. From a statement put forth by the society we take the following account of its purposes: "The design of the society is, primarily, to furnish to its members a helpful agency whereby the study, begun at the University, may be advantageously continued and expanded; and, secondarily, to awaken an interest in the subject among Christian thinkers who have hitherto given little attention to it, and to exhibit its character, scope and importance. The society also aims to secure such accurate information regarding the origin, development and character of the religions of the world, especially of those now existing, as may qualify its members to fairly estimate and effectively oppose the endeavors of the adversaries of Christianity to exalt the non-Christian systems to the disadvantage of Christian faith, and the disparagement of Christian enterprise. It is not too much to hope that the study to which the society is devoted may result, not merely in timely and competent contributions to current discussions of questions vital to the interests of Christ's kingdom, but also that it may be permanently influential through the useful additions which may be made to the literature of Comparative Religion."

The society holds meetings monthly, at which times addresses are made by distinguished scholars, or papers contributed by members of the society. The program of the meetings from September to December of the present year is as follows; April 25, "Mohammedanism as seen in America and Elsewhere," by Professor George Donaldson; October 30, "The Theistic Idea," by Rev. J. M. Meeker, Ph.D.; November 27, "Islâm," by Rev. Howard S. Bliss; December 18, "Unwritten Revelation," by Rev. John A. Davis. The society has already published some papers, and hopes to do more work in that line in the future.

An interesting feature of its plan contemplates the annual assigning to each member a definite field of work—a religion or group of religions—to which he shall specially devote himself, keeping track of new literature, discoveries, etc., and report thereon to the various meetings. It is added in the Society's statement that while the membership is composed largely of those who have pursued the graduate course in Comparative Religion at the New York University, it is not limited to such students. All persons who are in sympathy with the aims of the Society and are willing to unite with its members in its work, will receive a cordial welcome to membership." The President of the Society is Prof. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D. The Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. C. R. Blauvelt, Ph.D. The fees of membership are but a dollar a year, and we heartily urge any who are interested, and there should be many such, to correspond with the Secretary, Dr. Blauvelt, whose address is Nyack, N. Y.

G. S. G.

THE authentic and authorized Report of the Parliament of Religions is the work in two volumes edited by Rev. Dr. John^o Henry Barrows, the chairman of the great gathering. The first volume has already come from the press and quite fulfils all expectations. It is a portly volume of nearly 800 pages, of compact but clear type, adorned with portraits of many of the distinguished speakers and views of many scenes notable in religious history or objects of religious use or reverence. It revises the ordinary idea of a subscription book—poor work and a high price—for it is beautifully printed and remarkably reasonable in price. The number of valuable papers read at the Parliament, reproduced here in full, the chronicle of the gathering day by day, the descriptions of memorable scenes occurring from time to time during the sessions, the preface by Dr. Barrows, and his noble and tender words of dedication to his wife—make this first volume a marvelously attractive and valuable book. The second volume, equally large or larger, we are informed, will be equally valuable. The papers will not all be given in full, but the most valuable parts will be preserved; many papers not read in the Parliament, and others read only at section-meetings, will appear in full or abridged form in the second volume. Some of these papers cannot be obtained elsewhere, such as those by Professor Orelli^o on Sacrifice, and by Canon Freemantle on the Union of Christendom. People interested in preserving the proceedings of the Parliament or wishing to study its deliverances more closely should by all means obtain these two volumes. We very heartily recommend them to our readers and urge all who are thus minded to write to the Parliament Publishing Company of Chicago for Dr. J. H. Barrows' authorized book and to take no other.

G. S. G.

THE literature, present and prospective, of Comparative Religion is something to alarm one who hopes to keep abreast of the investigations and movements of thought in this field. One of the most useful of books to the

general reader is a collection of lectures and essays entitled *Religious Systems of the World*, just appeared in its third edition from Swan Sonnenschein of London. Each religious sect or system is treated by an adherent of the same or a specialist on the subject. It has reached the great bulk of 824 pages, is a kind of encyclopedia of religions, but for an intelligent general student it is the best work available in English at present.

Saussaye's *Manual of the Science of Religion* is not completely translated as yet. We are promised in the International Series of Theological Handbooks a volume on Comparative Religion by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, which will be looked for with great expectations. Rev. Dr. Allen Menzies is announced as the author of a forthcoming manual on the same subject in another series of volumes. The series of books on the History of Religions under the editorship of Professor Jastrow, the prospectus of which appeared not long since, has already been referred to in this journal. Altogether it seems that the new science will not lack for competent and skillful expounders.

Book Reviews.

Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism. Part I. The David Narratives; Part II. The Book of Psalms. By the REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford; Canon of Rochester. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1892. Pages viii + 397. Price, \$2.50.

Canon Cheyne's name is too familiar to students of biblical criticism to call for an introduction. His numerous contributions to this department of science have already given him a seat in the galaxy of leaders. In addition to his productions as professor, we are receiving those of the preacher Cheyne. These sermons are critico-homiletical treatises. The book in hand is a kind of duplex article. Part I., covering less than one-third of the work, is semi-sermonic in form, and analytically critical in treatment. The narrative record of David was constructed out of *eight* or more documents or sources, dating from the tenth or ninth century down to the time of the final editor or editors. This final composite document preserves many contradictions and variations. It is a mixture of history, tradition, and the imagination of the compiler, but put together to present the most beautiful picture, and impress the most forcible lessons. Non-critical students have endeavored to harmonize and explain these difficulties, but to no purpose. They defy rational explication, and yield only to the magical wand of the technical and professional critic. Lay workers are not capable of understanding the requirements of the case, nor of appreciating the processes of the specialist. Professor Cheyne as a critical specialist undertakes to spread before the reader the state of the case regarding David and the David narratives. "There are virtually two Davids,—one the historical David who both sang songs and reigned over the people of Israel, the other that unworldly poet who speaks in the name of the church-nation in many of the Psalms, and who is poetically a direct descendant of David." "More easily could Karl the Great have written St. Bernard's hymn than the David of the Books of Samuel the 51st psalm," (p. 28). David was not the model man we are accustomed to regard him. He is to be respected, however, in some degree. He had some noble traits withal. The doubtful character of the narrative leaves us in perplexity on many points. For instance, very full evidence would be required to make us believe that the speech in 1 Kings 2:2-9 is authentic, because this supposed dying charge is diametrically opposed to what is told us of David's character elsewhere (p. 66). "Did Joab—the hero of a hundred fights—really become a craven at last? One may venture to doubt it." It is not David

therefore who is to be blamed, but a Hebrew narrator who sought to relieve the pious builder of the temple from the responsibility of some doubtful actions by ascribing them to the influence of David (p. 66). "The narrators (or some of them) and the editors who welded their work into a whole, have done what they could to mitigate the shock caused by many of the traditional facts by making David use beautifully devout expressions, some of which at any rate were certainly beyond his horizon." (p. 67). The story of David and Goliath is a popular tradition, and as other such must not be interpreted too realistically, especially after it has been touched by a moralist (p. 100). "Let us thank God for having given us in the Old Testament a few flowers of the popular imagination which are poetically only less delightful than the glorious Homeric poems" (p. 111). These are some of the statements of the writer as he picturesquely unfolds the beauties of the old traditional events, and moralizes upon their teachings for his audience.

In Part II. he discusses and amplifies in fifteen chapters many points previously published in his Bampton Lectures, and gives a running exegesis of Psalms 51, 32, 8, 16, 24, 26, 28, 63, 68, 86, 87, 113-118. "The only temple songs or fragments of (presumed) probable pre-exilic origin, which have come down to us, are a passage from a hymn by Solomon in 1 Kings 8, and a thanksgiving formula in Jer. 33:11, to which may possibly or even probably be added Psalm 18" (p. 131). David was not the author of the Psalms attributed to him. "But if we can show that in losing David we have gained a succession of still sweeter psalmists, and that though we know not their names we partly know their history, and can follow them in their changing moods and experiences, we shall more than compensate the educated reader" (pp. 136-7). The inspiration of the psalmists is superior to that of Dante or Browning, or the far-famed Greek poets, though the latter were inspired. They are apparently the same in quality but different in degree. The various Psalms *exegeted* are first tipped from their old pedestals and made to stand on Professor Cheyne's new foundation. Israel was a church nation, and most of the Psalms are expressions not of any individual but of that personified nation. The Maccabees occupy a large space in his pictures. They occupied a great and important period in Israel's struggles. Their presence solves many, many problems for the Oxford exegete.

Now, what can be said of this book as a whole? How does it impress the reader—"the educated reader" (p. 137)? It is a companion to the Bampton Lectures of 1889. It should stand side by side with its hypotheses, processes, and conclusions. It poses as a pious attempt to popularize critical conclusions. Its assumptions and asseverations, its dissections and distributions of the text, make a profound impression upon the reader—that it is extremely easy to make a few facts responsible for a vast array of hypothetically dogmatic statements. Without doubt Professor Cheyne has some ground, some facts as a basis. But if every scholar should set out to deal with the narrative and text of the Old Testament as arbitrarily as does Canon

Cheyne, biblical criticism would commit suicide within ten years. The educated reader can thrive least of all on assumptions. He must have solid reason for his beliefs. Pride ourselves all we please on being experts, specialists, and the like, but the real test of our assertions is made in the crucible of educated readers.

The spirit of the writer is the best. With admirable charity and tolerance toward others he wends his way through to the end. But his devout method of procedure wears such a mask as to frighten away from criticism many thoughtful minds he addresses.

PRICE.

Historische Erklärung des 2. Theils des Jesaia, Capitel 40 bis 66. By DR.
JULIUS LEY. Marburg i. H. 1893. M. 3.

This book reposes on two assumptions, neither of which can be said to have yet met with general acceptance. The one is, that the chapters in question all date from the time of Cyrus the Great and his immediate successors; and the other, that the three cuneiform authorities known respectively as the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus, the Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus and the Cyrus Cylinder, give a sufficiently full account of the movements of the Persian conqueror which resulted in the acquisition of Babylon and its empire to warrant a positive decision concerning his religion, and to enable us to follow the fortunes of the Jews during the last few years of Babylonian rule and the first months of Persian domination. The former of these assumptions will be questioned alike by those who adhere to the traditional view and by those scholars of the advanced school who ascribe portions of these chapters to a period or periods long subsequent to the time of the Return. The latter assumption cannot be accepted as more than probable so long as we possess no record giving a Persian account of the administration of Cyrus in the newly conquered Babylon. Nevertheless the studies of Professor Ley, which have evidently been conducted with great care and not inconsiderable ability, constitute a valuable addition to the literature on Deutero-Isaiah. He is unfortunately not an Assyriologist, his knowledge of the inscriptions being entirely second-hand; but he seems to have diligently examined the best authorities so that his statements concerning the Babylonian evidence may be trusted as in the main reliable. The sequence of events is supposed to have been as follows. In 550-549 B.C. Cyrus conquered Astyages. Four years later (546-545 B.C.) Crœsus succumbed. In 539-538 B.C. began the war with Nabonidus. In July, 538 B.C., Gobryas, the general of Cyrus, entered Babylon without fighting, Cyrus not following till November of the same year. During this interval of several months the Jewish captives in Babylon remained in *statu quo* so far as the government was concerned, but they were treated more harshly than ever by

their Babylonian masters. The personal rule of Cyrus brought speedy relief. Peace was proclaimed to all and the return of the Jewish captives took place in the ensuing year (537 B.C.). In 536 B.C. the rebuilding of the temple was commenced, but was languidly prosecuted owing to the hostility of the surrounding peoples, and the portion erected was ultimately destroyed by the Edomites. A period of still greater depression followed which extended until 520 B.C., when the building was recommenced. During nearly the whole of this period, that is, for thirty years or more, Deutero-Isaiah was striving to comfort or stimulate his fellow countrymen. These twenty-seven chapters must not be read as a single literary product, but as a collection of prophetic addresses written at different times and under different circumstances. Most were penned in Babylonia, but the last five chapters seem to hail from Jerusalem. Chapters 40 to 52:12 date from the years before the Return. The earlier chapters (with the exception of the first) show with what intense interest the movements of Cyrus were followed by the prophet and his fellow captives. Very little was known about Cyrus at first. The prophet seems to have believed that he either was or would become a worshiper of Jehovah (41:25). As time passed this hope faded because Cyrus was found to be "a polytheist like the Babylonians themselves" (45:4); but he was still regarded as God's instrument for the execution of his purpose concerning Babylon and Israel. When the Persians under Gobryas entered Babylon the Jews, as already remarked, were bitterly disappointed by his policy, which led to the continuance of their bondage if not to increased hardship. To this dark interval are referred chapters 48 to 51, which represent the prophet's efforts to sustain and cheer his fainting brethren. Allusions to their sufferings at this time are found in 51:13-14, 19, 20, 23; 52:5. The jubilant song which follows (52:1-12) was composed immediately after the publication of the edict of Cyrus warranting the Return. The remainder of the book—52:13-66:24—was composed after that event. The prophet was gravely disappointed in Zerubbabel and Joshua. He disapproved of their treatment of the Samaritans and of the growth of the hierarchy. During the dreary years which intervened between the first attempt at rebuilding the temple in 536 B.C., and the resumption of the work in 520 B.C., it was the prophet's mission to cheer and stimulate and rebuke. The great prophecy of the suffering and dying servant of God 52:13-ch. 53, may have been delivered about the commencement of this gloomy period. Those who are extremely depressed by the sad intelligence that the erection of the temple is suspended are encouraged by the promise of a mighty Saviour who will make perfect atonement for that guilt of Israel which has led to these painful occurrences. Chapters 63-65 date from the darkest of these dark days. The partially restored temple has been laid in ruins. "Thy holy people possessed it but a little while; our adversaries have broken down thy sanctuary" (63:18). "Our holy and our beautiful house where our fathers praised thee is burned with fire, and all our pleasant things

are laid waste" (64:11). In reference to this point Dr. Ley is not quite consistent. In one part of the book he ascribes the destruction of the temple to the Edomites (p. 35), in another (p. 151) to the Samaritans. The last chapter is supposed to have been penned when the rebuilding of the temple under Darius Hystaspes was in prospect. The dissertation on the Significance of "The Servant of God" and the exposition of the great prophecy in 52:13-53, which is closely connected therewith are extremely interesting. "The Servant of God" in chapters 42, 49, 52:13, and chap. 53, cannot, in the judgment of Dr. Ley, be the collective Israel, or the ideal Israel, or the pious portion of Israel, or the prophetic order, or any historic personage known to the writer. He can only be identified with the Messiah who was so vividly portrayed by the older Isaiah from whom Deutero-Isaiah has borrowed so largely. The reasons for and against are carefully stated and discussed. The historic background will appear less evident to most readers than to the writer, but the essay as a whole is admirable. Like some other recent products of German scholarship it points at a distinct reaction in some of the German universities from the destructive criticism which was at one time so popular. The remarks on 52:3-ch. 53 are accompanied by a new translation and several emendations of the text. Our space allows only two illustrations. The latter clause of 53:1 is rendered with Orelli, "On whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" and is referred exclusively to the Servant. It is he in whom the power of God is conspicuously manifested. The eighth verse is rendered as follows with the help of a startling and doubtful emendation. "He was taken away by oppression and judgment and *his pain* who expresses it? For he was taken away out of the land of life, through the transgression of my people was he smitten." Instead of *doro*, "his generation," Professor Ley proposes to read *dewayo*, "his pain" (cp. Psalm 41:4). Students of Deutero-Isaiah who can read German ought to find room on their shelves for this unpretentious but suggestive volume.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations. A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and its Doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By ORELLO CONE, D.D. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893. Pages viii., 413. Price \$1.75.

The Gospel referred to in the title of this book is the teaching of Jesus; its earliest interpretations are those which were put upon it in the period in which the New Testament was growing up and taking shape. The "teaching of Jesus" is recovered from the synoptic gospels by a process of critical elimination of sayings falsely ascribed to him. The "Jewish-Christian interpretation" is found, mainly in the first gospel and in the speeches of Peter, in the book of Acts. The "Pauline transformation" is found in the genuine letters of Paul, viz., Romans, First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, First Thessalonians and Philippians. The "Deutero-Pauline interpretations" are

those of Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians, and the First Epistle of Peter. The "Johannine transformation" is presented in the fourth gospel, though the designation of it as Johannine is merely conventional, this gospel not in fact proceeding from the apostle John. The "Anti-Gnostic interpretations" are presented in the First Epistle of John (so-called) in the pastoral Epistles ascribed to Paul, in Jude and in Second Peter. "Jewish-Christian apocalyptic" is, of course, found in the book of Revelation.

Concerning the legitimacy of the general aim and general method of this book there is no ground for question. The church or scholar that takes the name Christian, cannot but ask precisely what Jesus taught, and cannot assume without investigation that all that has come to us under his name is certainly his, or that all his followers represented his spirit and thought.

The author possesses two qualifications for his work which are of great value. He is familiar with what others have written on these subjects, at least with the writers of the general school, to which he himself belongs, and he is apparently fair-minded and candid. There is in his book, moreover, an agreeable absence of superciliousness and bitterness, such as has sometimes marred the writings alike of those who have defended, and of those who have controverted the commonly accepted view of the origin and nature of the New Testament. Nevertheless we cannot regard this book as giving us a trustworthy representation of the doctrinal development of Christianity. The writer who would give us this, must build upon a sound criticism, and with a sober and discriminating interpretation.

The author's position on the critical questions is indicated in general by the classification of the New Testament books given above. That position, though substantially accordant with the opinions of some distinguished German scholars, such as Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann and Pfleiderer, cannot be regarded as an established certainty; it is greatly to be doubted whether it is more than a passing phase of criticism. In interpretation the author seems so constantly on his guard against attributing to the words of Jesus and the New Testament writers an unduly profound meaning as sometimes to fail of finding the meaning that is there. But are Jesus and his apostles, alone of the world's great thinkers, to be denied the privilege of profound sayings? To the interpreter who admits that the meaning of the sayings of Jesus may sometimes be something more and deeper than that which can be read at a glance, many superficial differences disappear into a profounder unity. It is surely not unreasonable to ask that a serious and painstaking effort be made to understand the Jesus presented to us in the gospels before we attempt to construct a truer picture of the historical person by a process of elimination largely based on subjective grounds. The Christ of our gospels may not be precisely the Christ of history; it is certainly the duty of Christian scholarship to inquire whether he is, and if not, to recover for us, if possible, the true picture of the real Jesus. But we are persuaded that the picture presented in the gospels is both nobler in itself and truer to fact than that which Dr. Cone has given to us.

E. D. B.

A Harmony of the Gospels in the Revised Version, with some new features.

By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D., the notes at the end of the volume
by A. T. ROBERTSON, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son.
Pp. 17+264.

This harmony differs in two important respects from the best known similar works previously put forth in this country. It discards the division of the ministry of Jesus into Passover years, and it substitutes the text of the Revised Version of 1881 for that of the Common Version. In both these respects the work is undoubtedly an improvement on its predecessors. The author makes eight main divisions of the gospel narrative, which in his judgment represents stages of historical progress. Summaries of the narrative are interspersed between the sections of the gospel-text, and the place of the several events is in a large proportion of cases indicated at the head of the section. Numerous explanatory footnotes by Dr. Broadus are scattered through the book, and longer notes by Dr. Robertson are added at the end. These latter are to a certain extent apologetic in tone, their general point of view being indicated in these sentences taken from a general prefatory note at the beginning of the book. "In explaining a difficulty it is always to be remembered that even a possible explanation is sufficient to meet the objector. If several possible explanations are suggested, it becomes all the more unreasonable for one to contend that the discrepancy is irreconcilable. It is a work of supererogation to proceed to show that this or that explanation is the real solution of the problem." The views contrary to those of the author are not usually very fully stated; and not always quite adequately answered.

The typography and arrangement of material on the page is in the main good. To the lengthening list of English Harmonies of the Gospels this adds one that many students of the New Testament will welcome.

E. D. B.

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